

MID-AMERICA

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The French of Old Missouri (1804-1821): A Study in Assimilation

The westward march of empire for the youthful American republic of Jefferson's day carried with it a missionary zeal for conferring democratic institutions even among people whose historic culture disposed them to paternalism. In Louisiana, where French and Spanish regimes had gracefully alternated in a benevolent despotism founded on considerations of expediency, traditionalism, and indolence, the coming of American political institutions struck apprehension in many hearts, apathy in others. The *anciens habitants*, unwitting pawns of Napoleonic imperialism, had displayed pleasure at the momentary revival of French authority in 1803, but the advance of the Anglo-Saxon found them dispirited. Several members of the United States Senate gloomily predicted French resistance if the American authorities attempted to obtain possession of Louisiana. A more general and optimistic viewpoint was expressed by Senator Robert Wright of Maryland, a staunch Jeffersonian:

Can it be supposed that the Louisianians, who so lately gave so demonstrative proof of their loyalty in their answer to the address of the Prefect of France, will be less disposed to loyalty to the United States, when they recollect that we have treated them as our children . . . by securing them in their property and in their civil and religious liberty, agreeably to the principles of our own Constitution? Can they be so unwise as to prefer being the colonists of a distant European Power, to being members of this immense Empire, with all the privileges of American citizens?¹

In upper Louisiana, where the French creole population had already experienced serious misgivings concerning the turbulent frontier spirit of their new masters, the ceremony of transferring allegiance was a pathetic one. Captain Amos Stoddard, the new

¹ *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, 8 Cong., 1 Sess., 43-44.

civil commandant of Upper Louisiana, appeared before the home of Charles Gratiot in St. Louis on March 10, 1804, to assure the assembly of French inhabitants that they were now American citizens and no longer merely subjects. Religion, local customs, language, and land titles were to be respected by the national administration. "You now form an integral part of a great community," he added, "the powers of whose Government are circumscribed and defined by charter, and the liberty of the citizen extended and secured."² Gratiot, a cultured creole who was among the few to understand English, interpreted the speech to the silent audience. As the American flag replaced the Spanish colors, he requested the French to cheer the ceremony. The cheers, however, were both faint and few. American observers later recalled that

. . . many, very many of the people shed bitter tears of regret at being transferred without previous knowledge, from the sovereignty of a government and language to which they had been accustomed and fondly attached, and under which they had been bred, to that of a strange government, with whose manners, habits, language, and laws they were not familiar.³

Well-to-do creole families whose immense landed properties had appreciated in value with the advent of the American, might look more indulgently upon the change than did the less fortunate; but even among this group there were men like Auguste Chouteau who preferred a centralized military government to the unpredictable ways of democracy. The local slaveholders, many of whom were emigrants from the Northwest Territory and had experienced the dangers of emancipation, felt little admiration for equalitarian principles. Former French colonists of Gallipolis had arrived in Missouri a decade previously, with unpleasant recollections of the sharp methods of American land companies in Ohio. Nor did religious differences facilitate any melting pot process as Protestant and Catholic were compelled to seek a common formula for mutual understanding.

Worst of all, from the standpoint of the farming community, was the Yankee threat of an inquisition regarding the validity of land titles acquired under the informal land cessions of the Spanish and French regimes. Many of the land concessions were

² "Address of Captain Amos Stoddard," in *Glimpses of the Past*, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 1935, II, Nos. 6-10, 88.

³ John F. Darby, *Personal Recollections*, St. Louis, 1880, 223-224; see also a similar report in James H. Perkins and J. M. Peck, *Annals of the West*, St. Louis, 1850, 537.

neither registered nor surveyed; fully one-half of the lands of Upper Louisiana remained unsurveyed in 1804 and, according to Stoddard, nineteen-twentieths of the existing land titles were defective, being derived from the authority of a lieutenant-governor or a commandant, but unsanctioned by the higher representatives of the crown in the province.⁴ Among the poorer classes there were few who could afford the costs of securing official registration of land titles. When news arrived in 1804 that Congress had enacted legislation which challenged many of the nebulous titles held under local Spanish grants, there arose widespread agitation among the distressed *habitants*. This reaction had been correctly predicted by the territorial representative in Congress, Charles Lucas, who pointed out the folly of precipitate action in the midst of a delicate situation:

Louisiana has been held alternately by three or four nations; each of which in sequence has granted titles to more or less of the lands in question. An examination into those titles would at this time excite a high degree of sensibility among the inhabitants who ought in their youthful state to be treated by Congress with tenderness and delicacy.⁵

Subsequent congressional action in dividing Louisiana territory ended creole hopes that the growth of population in the Great Purchase would permit early statehood and hence autonomy. On January 4, 1805, a general protest was sent to Congress on behalf of the district delegates of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, St. Charles, and dependent areas. The memorial denounced the federal land laws as endangering Missouri land titles and deplored the "endless territorial infancy" of Upper Louisiana. In the "artificial" union of this section with a portion of the Northwest Territory, the petitioners sensed a plot to destroy slavery since the governor of a free territory now obtained authority over slaveholding Upper Louisiana. Nor was the Indian policy of the United States to their liking; each new treaty of cession brought more Indians across the Mississippi into Louisiana. At the same time, they claimed, military protection had proved inadequate amidst repeated instances of Indian attacks. In addition, more concessions were asked for the French language in political and educational institutions; territorial officials, they declared, should be residents and possess a speaking knowledge of both French and English; court records should be

⁴ Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*, Philadelphia, 1812, 253; for certain other aspects of the land title dispute see the *Louisiana Gazette*, March 29, 1810, March 28 and April 11, 1811.

⁵ *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, 8 Cong., 2 Sess., 694.

kept in these languages, and special government funds set aside to build county schools in which the two tongues would be granted equality. Complaining of the "unusual spirit of severity" which characterized the provisional laws of Louisiana, they observed significantly, "Little as we are acquainted with the United States, we know by heart your declaration of independence."⁶

Rufus Easton, writing to Jefferson from St. Louis during the same month, remarked, "That the French inhabitants are in general enemies to the change in Government requires no argument to demonstrate. . . . When it was rumored thro' this country last summer that a recession to Spain would take place, joy gladdened in their hearts."⁷ American taxes and military service constituted another bone of contention. The gradual enlargement and extension of territorial garrisons under the new regime revealed the reluctance of the native French to serve as soldiers; on one occasion, only the personal persuasion of creole leaders like Pierre Chouteau and Bernard Pratte proved effective in carrying out a military order.⁸ Frederick Bates, territorial secretary, wrote that the French "know nothing of the duties of a soldier and could never be *dragged* into action either with Spaniards or Indians."⁹ Among the more powerful creole families there was no such aversion to the martial spirit. Captains Pierre Chouteau and Jonathan Buois commanded troops of cavalry; a De-launay was adjutant-general of territorial militia; and Jean Baptiste Vallé accepted the position of commandant at Ste. Genevieve.¹⁰ Appointments to West Point for the sons of such families were eagerly sought; and the American authorities readily appreciated the tactical advantages derived from dispensing such favors.¹¹

The tender plant of Anglo-Saxon liberty proved for a time an exotic growth amidst local traditions of paternalistic government. Bates complained of the French that

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1611.

⁷ Letter of January 17, 1805, published in Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, 1804-1821*, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1916, 13 *et seq.*

⁸ Frederick Bates to Henry Dearborn, September 28, 1807, *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, edited by Thomas M. Marshall, St. Louis, 1926, I, 200.

⁹ *Id.*, May 30, 1807, I, 133. One of the Robidoux family of St. Louis was charged with fostering Indian hostility against the United States; Paul Allen, ed., *History of the Expeditions of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, Philadelphia, 1814, II, 455.

¹⁰ *Missouri Gazette*, August 31, 1808.

¹¹ Darby, *Personal Recollections*, 224-225.

Justice and liberty are words which they do not understand. . . . The summary decree of a military officer however tyrannical or absurd is much better suited to their ideas of the fitness of things, than the dilatory trial by jury and the glorious uncertainty of the Common Law.¹²

He concluded optimistically, however, that "a gleam of light, like the first blush of the morning has dawned on their bewildered imaginations." Courts and legislative bodies were staffed in part by members of the more cultured French classes and the *coutume de Paris*, hitherto dominant as a legal system for the *anciens habitants*, managed to survive alongside of Anglo-American law. The legal guarantees of local customs under the treaty of cession offered not a little perplexity to the judge or lawyer who was compelled to observe a dual system of procedure.¹³

The French-Canadian, who had migrated to Missouri after brief settlements in the Northwest Territory, brought with him institutions appropriate to a communal life. Bates observed, "The French people for the most part live in villages and cultivate a Common Field. They cannot bear the idea of separation. To live in the country without a neighbour in less than half a mile is worse than death, and almost as bad as purgatory."¹⁴ Individualistic Anglo-Americans, whose legal systems did not cover the feudal French institutions of land commons, looked upon this arrangement as injurious to urban growth and prosperity since it created in many instances a wasteland and prevented thorough agricultural exploitation of valuable resources.¹⁵ The frontiersman's insatiable land hunger could only view the generous Spanish and French privileges with distaste. Against the threat of the newcomer, French farmers of Carondelet published a warning to those outsiders who cut timber belonging to the village commons.¹⁶ The old settlers hoped that Congress would act to confirm communal rights to all lands claimed as commons.¹⁷ Anglo-American enterprise continued, however, to make inroads upon traditional economic institutions and the French began to rent or sell their holdings for the relatively large sums that the new-

¹² Frederick Bates to R. Bates, December 17, 1807, *Life and Papers*, I, 242.

¹³ Henry M. Brackenridge in the *Louisiana Gazette*, April 11, 1811.

¹⁴ Frederick Bates to R. Bates, December 17, 1807, *Life and Papers*, I, 243.

¹⁵ *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, October 2, 1818.

¹⁶ *Missouri Gazette*, December 14, 1816.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, August 21, 1818.

comers were able to offer.¹⁸ Some of the dispossessed went West as squatters upon the public lands; others found miscellaneous tasks as boatmen or guides.

French settlements in Missouri clung to the great river courses of the Mississippi and the Missouri. A Spanish census of 1799 claimed a population of 6,028 for Upper Louisiana of whom 883 were slaves, 161 free mulattoes, and 36 free Negroes.¹⁹ With the heavy influx of Americans and other groups the census reported 20,845 inhabitants in this area for 1810 and 66,586 by 1820. In 1799, a flourishing export trade existed in furs, lead, and flour which were sent to New Orleans, attaining an annual value of \$73,176; shippers of fine furs sought the advantageous Canadian market despite government prohibitions.

At the time of cession, the oldest settlement, Ste. Genevieve, on the Mississippi, appeared to be most flourishing and destined to future grandeur. This district accounted for the total annual output of salt in Upper Louisiana—965 bushels, 150,000 pounds of lead, and most of the horned cattle and horses; it was also important as a producer of wheat and corn.²⁰ Of its original 949 inhabitants under Spanish and French rule, one-third were slaves. During the American territorial period, the settlement declined in relative importance, although the population increased slightly. It remained the center of lead-mining activity—the “store town,” many of the villagers and slaves being engaged in carting lead, wood, and stone together with incidental tillage.²¹ A large inclosed common field along the river contained separate strips cultivated by each family in a system reminiscent of manorial Europe. Lots cultivated by Americans could be told apart by the absence of weeds and by their general productivity, which was at least a third more than that of the French holdings.²² American cabins differed from the French ones in that the latter were constructed of logs set vertically rather than the former’s familiar horizontal arrangement. With the advent of the American, lead mining received a new impetus. The French had seldom gone beyond a greater depth than eight or ten feet; by 1811 they

¹⁸ *Louisiana Gazette*, April 11, 1811. The *Missouri Gazette*, first newspaper west of the Mississippi, changed its name frequently, sometimes known as *Louisiana Gazette* and occasionally bearing a lengthier title.

¹⁹ “Census of Upper Louisiana,” *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, Appendix, 8 Cong., 2 Sess., 1575-1576.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, New York, 1810, II, 56. Lead frequently did service as money in Upper Louisiana, especially at Ste. Genevieve. See *Missouri Gazette*, November 2, 1809.

²² *Louisiana Gazette*, April 11 and March 21, 1811.

were benefiting from American methods and descending fifty to sixty feet.²³ Despite the forces of assimilation, Ste. Genevieve remained predominantly French in culture even at the end of the territorial period.

The rapid rise of St. Louis since its founding in 1764, particularly from 1804 to the period of Missouri's statehood, soon eclipsed the progress of the older settlements; from a population in 1799 of 925 including 268 slaves and 50 free mulattoes, the district attained 5,667 by the 1810 census and 10,049 by 1820.²⁴ Situated at the Missouri gateway to the Far West, and occupying the Mississippi approaches, the town appeared less rural than Ste. Genevieve and more dependent upon the fur trade. The population consisted largely of French-Canadians, a few Spaniards and other Europeans, and an increasing proportion of Americans. Many of the leading French citizens were engaged in the fur trade; some like the Chouteaus were associated intimately with the famous Manuel Lisa and the Missouri Fur Company. Washington Irving has left us an extremely vivid account of his impressions of St. Louis in 1810:

Here to be seen, about the river banks, the hectoring, extravagant, bragging boatmen of the Mississippi, with the gay, grimacing, singing, good-humored Canadian *voyageurs*. Vagrant Indians of various tribes, loitered about the streets. Now and then a stark Kentucky hunter, in leathern hunting-dress, with rifle on shoulder and knife in belt, strode along. Here and there were new brick houses and shops, just set up by bustling, driving, and eager men of traffic from the Atlantic States; while, on the other hand, the old French mansions, with open case-ments, still retained the easy, indolent air of the original colonists; and now and then the scraping of a fiddle, a strain of an ancient French song, or the sound of billiard balls, showed that the happy Gallic turn for gayety and amusement still lingered about the place.²⁵

Irving gloried in the local color of the "mongrel Indians and mongrel Frenchmen" who were employed in the fur trade by the old French houses of St. Louis.²⁶ Anglo-Saxons were struck by the strange dress, the volatile temperament, and picturesque

²³ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1811. Particularly important for mining was the ash furnace, hitherto unknown to the French. The famous frontiersman, Moses Austin, was one of the most enterprising Americans in the lead mines; John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America*, Liverpool, 1817, 253-254.

²⁴ "Census of Upper Louisiana," *loc. cit.*, 1575-1576; *Louisiana Gazette*, January 16, 1810; *U. S.: Fifth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States*, Washington, D. C., 1832, 22-23.

²⁵ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, New York, 1868, 154-155.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 201-206. Some of the colorful old French songs of the boatmen appear in Bradbury, 12-13.

vocabulary of the French river boatmen. In 1808, the murder trial of George Druillard, Manuel Lisa's employee, who had fatally wounded the deserter, Antoine Bissonnette, on instructions of his employer, took on added significance because of its challenge to the traditional fidelity of the French boatman and trapper. Bissonnette's desertion on a western trading expedition was regarded by a local jury as a threat to the entire community and Druillard was discharged.²⁷

Among the other colorful French settlements in territorial Missouri was attractive St. Charles, adjacent to St. Louis, with a district population of 3,505. In 1799 there had been 895 inhabitants of whom 55 were slaves. Few American families had arrived prior to 1804, but soon they came in such numbers as to reduce the French to a minority status. This area was primarily engaged in wheat and corn production; with considerable Indian trade; it was a center for the French *engagées* or boatmen.²⁸ Cape Girardeau, although established by the French, was said to have had no more than three or four Frenchmen during 1804 in a population of 1,470.²⁹ The earthquake devastation during 1811 of New Madrid, a settlement of 1,350 people, brought a large-scale trek of its inhabitants into the interior of Missouri and into Arkansas.³⁰ Small villages such as Carondelet, Belle Fontaine, Florissant, Vide Poche, New Bourbon, and other of the more isolated settlements remained predominantly French with a liberal Indian element to the end of the territorial period, attracting the traveler's attention to the hospitality and picturesqueness of their inhabitants.³¹

Henry Brackenridge, observing the influence of the American regime upon the humble folk of these villages, wrote in 1811:

It may be a question, whether the poorest class have been benefited by the change. Fearless of absolute want, they always lived in a careless, thoughtless manner; at present the greater part of them obtain a precarious subsistence. They generally possess a cart, a house or two, a small flock of cattle and cultivate trifling garden spots. At St. Louis

²⁷ *Missouri Gazette*, October 12, 1808.

²⁸ *Louisiana Gazette*, March 21, 1811; *History of the Expeditions of Captains Lewis and Clark*, I, 4.

²⁹ Stoddard, *Sketches*, 214.

³⁰ *Missouri Gazette*, September 6, 1817.

³¹ Daniel Blowe, *Emigrant's Directory*, London, 1820, 680-684; Stoddard, *loc. cit.*, 211, 219, 225; "Brackenridge's Journal Up the Missouri," *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Cleveland, 1904, VI, 45; *Missouri Gazette*, March 7, 1811; Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer*, Auburn, New York, 1817, 203-204.

they have more employment than in the other villages; they make hay in the prairie, haul wood for sale, and are employed in small jobs about town; some are boatmen. . . .³²

The Americans, he added, had communicated to the French some of their industry and spirit of enterprise; while the French reciprocated by teaching them their "more gentle and amiable customs." But the prestige of the boatman's trade, the pride of the French-Canadian heart, was sadly undermined by the indifferent attitude of the American.³³ Frederick Bates, writing in 1807, viewed the situation pessimistically.

A few of the Spanish and French inhabitants who enjoyed the patronage of the late government are wealthy. But the great body of that unhappy people whose situation has always been degraded and slavish is daily sinking into insignificance and ruin. Some of them are employed by the Merchants as Boatmen or Traders in the Indian country. This service sinks them every year more deeply in debt, until they are compelled by their unfeeling creditors to perform every servile drudgery with which humanity can be loaded. But it is a life to which they are accustomed, and they are seldom known to complain.³⁴

The old French ruling class, facing their twilight with leaders who had tasted the elegance and cultured atmosphere of Paris, yielded gracefully to their new masters. Of this group, however, Bates expressed his profound suspicions, "Civil, polite and courteous, they perform inviolably all the decorums of intercourse; yet when they are making to you all their professions of attachment and service, they have their mental reservations, and as no veil is deep or large enough to hide itself, we are generally aware of, and guard against the artifice."³⁵ The wealthy creoles especially those of St. Louis had come from Montreal and Quebec in Canada, the Old Northwest, New Orleans, the West Indies, and this class was strengthened by emigrés from France itself. Their palatial residences, some built in the true seigniorial tradition, remained landmarks in Missouri long after the owners had gone. Court records testify to the baronial estates of the Chouteaus, Robidoux, Labbadies, Soullards, Clamorgans, Gratiots, St. Vrain, and others of that class of princely merchants.³⁶ Amazingly large

³² *Louisiana Gazette*, April 11, 1811.

³³ Henry M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, Pittsburgh, 1814, 136.

³⁴ Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, December 17, 1807, *Life and Papers*, I, 241.

³⁵ *Id.*, 242.

³⁶ "Saint Louis Land Owners of 1805," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, III, No. 1, 183-192; The *Missouri Gazette* contains numerous items

personal libraries, rich in the classics and abounding with the works of the eighteenth-century *philosophes*, belied the common impression of frontier isolation and provincialism. Observers were impressed by the meticulous French pronunciation and fine manners of this backwoods' "society" contrasting sharply with the colloquialisms of the humbler classes. So far removed in fact were the cultured gentry of St. Louis from any suggestion of geographic detachment even in 1796 that they had then organized a *sans culotte* society, the symbol of revolutionary France!³⁷

Researches into the old creole libraries of St. Louis have revealed the dominant intellectual influence of the "Enlightenment" upon the wealthy French families. Auguste Chouteau, who had come to St. Louis as a fourteen-year-old boy with Pierre Laclède in 1764 to establish the settlement, had together with his employer plunged deeply into the writings of the French freethinkers and reformers. The Chouteau library of some six hundred volumes, which included much of the old Laclède collection, possessed the iconoclastic writings of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and Mirabeau; besides these were the tendentious works of Baccaria, Locke, Descartes, Buffon, de Mably, the Abbe Raynal, Montesquieu, and numerous others. Appropriately enough, the parlor clock of the Chouteau mansion was adorned with a bust of Voltaire.³⁸ Similar collections were owned by Dr. Antoine François Saugrain, pioneer in the frontier application of small-pox vaccine, who possessed not only a large medical library but the writings of Beaumarchais, Molière, Goethe, as well as those of scores of French freethinkers.³⁹ Many other libraries, whose well-stocked shelves revealed the unconventional spirit of the owners, existed in creole St. Louis among such men as Jacques Clamorgan, land speculator and judge of the court of common pleas, Charles Delassus, former commandant of St. Louis, and other well-known leaders.

Nor was St. Louis an isolated instance of French literary influence in the West. Canada, the major source of the Gallic emigrant stream to fill Missouri, is said to have possessed large French libraries of some sixty thousand volumes; and New Orleans, undoubtedly, contributed much to the literary collections

concerning the land operations of the wealthy creoles, e. g., in the issues of March 22, 1809, December 18, 1813, May 21, 1814, *et passim*.

³⁷ John F. McDermott, "Voltaire and the Freethinkers in Early Saint Louis," *Revue De Litterature Comparée*, XVI (1936), 725.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 726.

³⁹ John F. McDermott, *Private Libraries in Creole St. Louis*, Baltimore, 1938, 90.

of St. Louis.⁴⁰ Brackenridge declared that part of the classics possessed by Chouteau formerly belonged to the original collection of an old Jesuit library at Kaskaskia.⁴¹ A Protestant minister, Rev. John Mason Peck, observed of St. Louis in 1818 that "every Frenchman with whom I formed an acquaintance, of any intelligence and influence, was of the school of French Liberalists—an infidel to all Bible Christianity."⁴² This situation he attributed to

the casual correspondence held with France, where infidelity was demolishing the throne of political and religious despotism, . . . [and] led them to regard all religion as priestcraft, necessary perhaps for the ignorant, superstitious, and vicious, but wholly unnecessary for a gentleman—a philosopher.⁴³

Upon the pretentious estate of Auguste Chouteau, the elder, was a large stone edifice enclosed by massive stone walls and occupying an entire square, which towered impressively above the more humble dwellings of St. Louis. As a reservoir to supply his grist mill, Chouteau had constructed an attractive artificial lake.⁴⁴ This regal setting was indeed appropriate for one whose business and social affairs could scarcely be described in any other terms than princely. His home was a convenient place for confidential creole deliberations, whether they concerned land titles, local rights, or national problems.⁴⁵ The old files of the *Missouri Gazette* are replete with the many-sided activity of Chouteau, as a member of the St. Louis board of trustees, as a land speculator, a merchant in the fur trade (particularly through his son's enterprises), as a bank director, and finally as a public-spirited citizen helping to establish the early St. Louis school system.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ McDermott, "Voltaire and the Freethinkers," *loc. cit.*, 730-731.

⁴¹ Henry M. Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, Philadelphia, 1868, 230.

⁴² Rufus Babcock, ed., *Memoir of John Mason Peck, D. D.*, Philadelphia, 1864, 87.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁴⁴ Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons*, 230; Anne L. Hunt, "Early Recollections," *Glimpses of the Past*, Missouri Historical Society, 1934, I, No. 6, 45.

⁴⁵ See for example the Chouteau notice in the *Missouri Gazette*, December 7, 1808.

⁴⁶ For mention of several of the activities of Chouteau and his son, Auguste, Jr., see the *Missouri Gazette*, August 26, 1807, November 23 and 26, 1809, January 11, March 3, and May 10, 1810, February 14, 1811, December 7, 1816, and September 13, 1817; also the *St. Louis Enquirer*, February 3, 1821.

The activities of other creoles furnished a counterpart to those of the Chouteau family, although they were somewhat less challenging in the range of their interests. The Vallé family of Ste. Genevieve, one of the oldest French families in Missouri, had earned a high reputation in colonial officialdom and under American rule, Jean Baptiste Vallé was appointed to the office of commandant at Ste. Genevieve and Justice of the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace.⁴⁷ Joseph de St. Vrain, wealthy landowner and merchant of Belle Fontaine, near St. Louis, laid the foundation in 1810 for subsequent prosperity in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages by introducing European methods in his elaborate brewery, particularly in the making of strong beer. A fellow citizen hailed this undertaking with the remark, "The lovers of Malt will now have an opportunity to foster an undertaking so much wanting in this territory."⁴⁸ Large plantations, worked by slave labor, belonged to some of the leading creole families such as the Labbadies, who possessed over seven thousand arpents of land, the Labeaumes of St. Louis, whose holdings included lead mines; the Robidoux, and other families.⁴⁹ The French slave-owners were generally credited with kind treatment of slaves although they punished severely any intimacy between whites and Negroes. Americans were struck by the sight of French-speaking slaves and occasionally dismayed by the propensity of these slaves for public disturbances.⁵⁰ Finally, there existed the numerous class of minor creole officials, particularly lawyers like Judge Bernard Pratte, St. James Bovais, and M. P. Leduc, whose names recur frequently in the contemporary press.

However indifferent the creole intellectuals might be in religious matters, other French classes retained their orthodoxy along traditional lines, although, as visitors observed who were familiar with Canada, the Church discipline was far more relaxed than in that country, being particularly weak before the

⁴⁷ Mary Louise Dalton, "Notes on the Genealogy of the Vallé Family," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, II (1906), No. 7, 63.

⁴⁸ *Louisiana Gazette*, April 26, 1810.

⁴⁹ *Missouri Gazette*, April 26, 1807, February 15 and 22, 1809, January 18, 1810, September 12, 1812.

⁵⁰ When news came of the slave insurrection of 1811 near New Orleans, the slaveholders of St. Louis were able to enact a stringent slave police ordinance, regulating social relations between free Negroes and slaves, circumscribing slave gatherings, and severely punishing infractions of discipline by a prescribed number of lashes for each offense. *Ibid.*, March 14 and April 11, 1811.

epochal work of Bishop Du Bourg in 1818. Brackenridge wrote in 1811:

They are Catholics, but far from being bigoted or superstitious, as some travellers have said. They have been more justly charged with being difficult to please in their priests. They were generally strict observers of the rules and discipline of their Church, and of all the different holy days in the calendar. Their fetes were considered as the most interesting occasions. . . . Of late this attention to the ceremonies of their religion is much relaxed.⁵¹

Under the Spanish government, priests were supported by the king and no tithes levied. This policy showed its weakness, when, with the coming of American rule, the priests were transferred elsewhere save for the popular Father James Maxwell of Ste. Genevieve, an Irishman, who was left with the Herculean task of ministering to the spiritual needs of a widely scattered French flock. It had been the practice of the Spanish governor of Louisiana, Don Alexandro O'Reilly, to send over Irish soldiers and civilians as pioneers to the province; hence Irish priests, preferably those educated in Spanish studies at the University of Salamanca, were sent along with these. Besides, there was the hope of converting Protestant-American immigrants through the aid of English-speaking priests.⁵²

By an arrangement made in 1814, the French of St. Louis secured the services of Father Francis Savine of Cahokia every third Sunday until 1817. Father Savine's enthusiasm for the American cause was noted in the press when in March 1815 he celebrated a solemn Mass and *Te Deum* which was followed by a patriotic discourse on the victory of Andrew Jackson at New Orleans.⁵³ Curiously enough, the first formal application for a resident priest in St. Louis was made by Auguste Chouteau, Charles Gratiot, Gregoire Sarpy, and Bernard Pratte, all of whom were possessors of numerous volumes by French free-thinkers.

Prior to the American period, St. Louis had been under the spiritual ministrations of Don Pierre Joseph Didier, a Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Maur, who had fled Paris during the Terror because his support of the royal cause at the Abbey Church of St. Denis had brought down upon him the hatred of the radicals. His church burnt, he had first accompanied a group

⁵¹ *Louisiana Gazette*, April 4, 1811; also in Brackenridge, *Views*, 135.

⁵² John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, St. Louis, 1928, I, 198-200.

⁵³ *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, March 4, 1815.

of French Catholics to Gallipolis, Ohio; then upon the failure of this colony and its partial dispersion to New Madrid, New Bourbon, and St. Louis, he established himself in the latter town. Here he built a Calvary—a large crucifix erected upon a square stone platform set on the highest point of St. Louis where the devout could readily seek its comfort. Father Didier's Benedictine garden, which grew medicinal herbs as well as flowers of fragrance, added its beauty to the French settlement.⁵⁴ The brief ministry of Father Pierre Janin, a secular priest, had followed Father Didier's death in 1799, but as the American era began with the withdrawal of the Missouri priesthood, the existing church building fell into disrepair. Bishop Flaget wittily remarked in 1818, "The old Church, indeed, resembled the first Christian temple, the stable of Bethlehem."⁵⁵

Under the Spanish regime, despite official regulations aimed against Protestant penetration, tolerance had been the rule and many non-Catholic American families made special arrangements with the local priest for his services.⁵⁶ Other Protestants received ministrations from itinerant preachers and camp meetings, but each family was thrown largely upon its own resources until after 1814 when regular Protestant services began to replace the more informal worship.⁵⁷ One amusing incident illustrates the occasional friction which developed between the leaders of the various sects. Father Joseph Dunand, a Trappist, arrived in St. Louis in 1808 to find a criminal, nominally Catholic, about to be hanged and surrounded by six Protestant ministers (the number appears extraordinary for St. Louis of that day). Learning that the prisoner had never been baptized but desired the rite, the priest then began a heated argument with the ministers lasting some four hours in an effort to convince the latter that baptism was necessary in this case; finally finding arguments unavailing, Father Dunand, who had once served as a French grenadier, obtained the water and forcibly applied the baptismal rite over the protests of the ministers.⁵⁸ Sometimes,

⁵⁴ Rothensteiner, 210-213.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 270.

⁵⁶ Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, 40.

⁵⁷ *Louisiana Gazette*, April 4, 1811.

⁵⁸ Rothensteiner, 218. The Rev. Timothy Flint, a Protestant minister, deplored the indifference and peculiarities of his French congregation, "The French people generally came to the place of worship arrayed in their ball dresses and went directly from worship to the ball. A billiard room was near, and parts of my audience sometimes came in for a moment and after listening to a few sentences, returned to their billiards." Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, Boston, 1826, 274.

the traditional French-Catholic mode of Sabbath observance shocked Protestants who observed that the French would attend Mass on Sundays devoutly but immediately thereafter gather for all sorts of entertainment and conviviality, playing billiards, dancing, and enjoying parties. Stoddard, describing the French attitude, wrote,

They are of the opinion that a sullen countenance, an attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech, and a stiff behavior, are much more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion; and they have often remarked that those who practice these singularities on Sundays will most assuredly cheat and defraud their neighbors during the rest of the week. Such are the religious sentiments of a people void of superstition; of a people prone to hospitality, urbanity of manners, and innocent recreation.⁵⁹

Agnostics and atheists of both groups, French and American, sometimes struck hands as self-styled "nullifidians," with the assumption that religion was only fit for women and illiterates. Visiting churchmen deplored the decline in popular morals which existed during the first decade of American rule.⁶⁰ Father de Andreis, visiting St. Louis in 1818, commented pessimistically:

The chief part of the population is French (creole as they call it) and consequently Catholic but without any religious culture on account of the long period which the place has been destitute of clergyman and of every means of instruction. One of the most respectable citizens said to me, 'If Bishop Du Bourg had not come in time to our relief, the last spark of faith would have extinguished in our country.'⁶¹

With the coming of Bishop William Du Bourg to St. Louis in 1818 a revival of Catholic religious life took place in Missouri. Elaborate religious pageants marked the ecclesiastical establishment in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. On March 29, 1818, after three months of the improvised "Cathedral," a decaying log building of 1776, a new edifice was established at St. Louis.⁶²

Among the striking religious influences in Missouri was a colony of Trappist monks who had been dispersed by the French Revolution. Desiring to convert the Indians, they had come to Kentucky, then moved on to Florissant on the Missouri side of the Mississippi during the early territorial period after success-

⁵⁹ Stoddard, *Sketches*, 316.

⁶⁰ Rothensteiner, 221; *Memoir of John Mason Peck*, 87-88.

⁶¹ Rothensteiner, 268.

⁶² *Missouri Gazette*, March 27, 1818.

fully petitioning Congress for preemption rights to several thousand acres near their original property of four hundred acres. Subsequent movements brought them to the opposite bank. Under the leadership of Father Urbain Guillet, the routine of the old Monastery of La Trappe was duplicated and a regime of industrial crafts and agriculture was instituted with its rule of silence which attracted the curious gaze of the traveler. Asylum was offered to the poor, the orphan, the cripple, and the blind.⁶³ Father Guillet advertised the colony's products in the *Missouri Gazette*, seeking to exchange the products of his shops such as watches, clocks, and other silversmith work for clothes and food.⁶⁴

Education, even more than religion, revealed the profound cultural gulf between the wealthy creole and the more humble *habitant*. Sons and relatives of the well-to-do, such as Silvestre Labbadie, nephew of Auguste Chouteau and Charles Gratiot, attended colleges in Paris or Montreal; some attended the Catholic college at Bardstown, Kentucky.⁶⁵ The large private libraries of St. Louis clearly indicated the versatile intellectual interests of these creoles; their cultural ties with France were further evidenced, as already noted, by the purity of their French pronunciation.

Against this brilliant background, the story of mass illiteracy prior to 1809 is rather drab. Stoddard observed that the native French were "extremely deficient in education; multitudes of them cannot either read or write their names."⁶⁶ This judgment is confirmed, not only from other contemporary accounts, but also from the pages of public notices in the *Missouri Gazette*; many documents are attested only by the individual's mark, rather than his name. Since these advertisements were offered either by village community representatives or by men of some moderate means at least, they justify the inference that illiteracy was widespread. St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve were among the first to maintain private schools, but at best these arrangements were sporadic and unsatisfactory.

In January 1809, St. Louis was enriched by the colorful personality of Christoph Friederich Schewe, who described himself

⁶³ Cf. G. J. Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History*, Milwaukee, 1934, 94-135, for an excellent study of these Trappists.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, January 16, 1811.

⁶⁵ McDermott, *Private Libraries in Creole St. Louis*, 14. McDermott contends that at least one-half of the adult whites were sufficiently literate to write their names.

⁶⁶ Stoddard, *Sketches*, 309.

as "formerly Professor in the Lycée Academy at Paris, lately Minister of the Gospel at Pittsburg" and announced the opening of a French and English grammar school with an optional offering of arithmetic, geography, geometry, drawing, and other subjects if requested.⁶⁷ Schewe taught both at his home and in the homes of his pupils, day and evenings, but despite his energies and abilities, the response was so slight that his advertisements soon combined the virtues of education and the sale of saltfish, beer, soap, candles, and other petty wares.⁶⁸ He had formerly been a pastor of a Dutch Lutheran Church and while in Pittsburg, his pupils in German had included the talented Henry M. Brackenridge, lawyer and author.⁶⁹

During 1812, a variety of educational enterprises budded forth in St. Louis for the customary brief period. A "Young Ladies Academy" offering reading, writing, French grammar, arithmetic, and geography with supplementary work in sewing and embroidering, was established at the home of the Sanguinets by a certain widow Pescay.⁷⁰ A similar enterprise for both sexes was begun by S. Septlivres and George Tompkins in August 1812; by June 10, 1814, an indignant note regarding public indifference to education appeared over the name of Tompkins, stating that he "declined keeping school any longer."⁷¹ Visiting Americans occasionally opened private schools, such as the Potosi Academy at Mine a Burton in Washington county which included French in the curriculum.⁷² More tangible results than these in the education of the French *habitants* came from the academy established by Bishop Du Bourg in St. Louis during 1818; Latin, English, French, arithmetic, geography, and other branches were taught by a faculty of clergy.⁷³ By 1821 St. Louis College had emerged as a result of the bishop's efforts, with a curriculum considerably in advance of the average frontier college and destined to future importance as St. Louis University.⁷⁴

The progress of the fine arts, although meager, was not totally neglected by the French of St. Louis. Madame Perdreau-

⁶⁷ *Missouri Gazette*, January 11 and February 1, 1809, January 4, 1810, November 27, 1813. For a graphic picture of Schewe, "that singular oddity," see Henry M. Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons*, 230 *et passim*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 265.

⁶⁹ For more details on education see John F. McDermott, "Private Schools in St. Louis, 1809-1821," *MID-AMERICA*, XXII (April 1940), 96-119.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁷¹ *Missouri Gazette*, June 6, October 24, 1812; June 18, 1814.

⁷² *Ibid.*, April 27, 1816.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1818.

⁷⁴ Rothensteiner, 259; McDermott, "Private Schools," 117.

ville opened an academy for young ladies in September 1818 which offered lessons in vocal and instrumental music; a M. Durocher supplemented these subjects with private lessons in dancing, evidently of a classical variety.⁷⁵ A certain Deneaumoulin opened an academy of architecture at the home of M. Chenie with private lessons in drawing to those who could not attend the academy.⁷⁶ Another teacher, Pierre St. Martin, taught the waltz during 1809 in St. Louis, where its popularity evoked Anglo-Saxon condemnation in the press; besides lessons in the waltz, instruction was offered in the art of fencing.⁷⁷

Considering the grave problem of French illiteracy, it is scarcely surprising that all well-meant efforts to foster a French-language newspaper failed completely. When the publisher, Joseph Charless, set up his *Missouri Gazette* in St. Louis during 1808, he thought it necessary to offer three columns of the paper for the publication of all local and foreign news in French.⁷⁸ This proposal was never realized, except for the frequent bilingual advertisements and no serious protest seems to have resulted. In November 1809 a French notice appeared in the *Gazette*, regarding a forthcoming weekly to be called *Mouche du Ouest*, devoted to foreign and domestic news. Although the paper was to be issued as soon as one hundred annual subscriptions at three dollars each were obtained, surely a modest goal, nothing further was heard of it.⁷⁹ A similar prospectus in March 1810 of a French weekly to be published at St. Louis as *Gazette de la Louisiane* proved abortive.⁸⁰ The Jeffersonian politics of the *Missouri Gazette* fortunately put no great strain upon the loyalties of the French *habitants* and the paper, despite its predominantly English content, served the journalistic requirements of the territory particularly since the process of assimilation fostered a common tongue.

The social contrast between Frenchman and American attracted the attention of most visitors to the territory. Stoddard thought that "of all the people on the globe the French in Louisiana appear to be the happiest; . . . their minds are passive, ex-

⁷⁵ *Missouri Gazette*, September 25, 1818.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, November 6, 1818.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, September 20, 1809.

⁷⁸ Prospectus of the *Missouri Gazette*, C. July 1808.

⁷⁹ *Missouri Gazette*, November 30, 1809. *Mouche du Ouest* was advertised as a journal "dans la quelle on donnera connaissance des nouvelles politiques domestiques et etrangeres les plus interessante; ou le sentiment general de chaque citoyen sera recu lors quil ne blessera ny l'honneur ny le devoir."

⁸⁰ *Louisiana Gazette*, March 29, 1810.

cept when roused by insult or imposition."⁸¹ He believed that indolence was a characteristic of these people, but that they were nevertheless, punctual in the performance of contracts and honest in their dealings.

While the English Americans are hard at labor and sweat under the burning rays of a meridian sun, they will be seated in their homes or under some cooling shade, amusing themselves with their pipes and tobacco, in drinking of coffee, and in repeating the incidents of their several perambulations over distant lakes and mountains.⁸²

Bates noted an intermediate class of *habitants*, whose social proclivities disposed them rather to "starve in town than live in the country."

They satisfy themselves with the externals of parade, unconscious of the approaches of Poverty, until that hideous Fiend with the appearance and brutality of a constable, finds an entrance at the back door and drives them into the streets.⁸³

Brackenridge saw in the French of the Mississippi a people whose original European traits had been modified by the new environment and who lacked the "restlessness, impatience, and fire" of the European:

There is even in their deportment something of the gravity of the Spaniard; yet extremely fond of every kind of gaiety and amusement. From the gentle and easy life which they led, their manners and even language, have become soft and mild; the work *paisible* expresses this characteristic.⁸⁴

He admired their hospitality which made taverns superfluous, an American innovation; their simplicity made the elaborate safeguards of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence seem misplaced and the measured tempo of their daily lives offered a sharp contrast to the ambitious life of the English-speaking groups. Theirs was the static pre-capitalist ideal adrift in an ocean of dynamic capitalistic enterprise.

Few travelers failed to note the eternal dancing, balls, carnivals, fête days, and games which occupied the French settlements. Schultz wrote, "The balls are generally opened at candle-

⁸¹ Stoddard, *Sketches*, 310.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 310.

⁸³ Frederick Bates to Richard Bates, December 17, 1807, *loc. cit.*, 241. This judgment is tempered by the comment, "Notwithstanding the propensity to ostentation in some of the Old Inhabitants, I do by no means think that they are prodigal or profuse. On the contrary, they are rigid economists and some of them even narrow minded and niggardly." *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Louisiana Gazette*, April 4, 1811.

light and continue till ten or twelve o'clock the next day."⁸⁵ Another visitor, John F. Darby, remarked, "They [the French] believed in enjoying life. There was a fiddle in every house, and a dance somewhere every night. They were honest, hospitable, confiding, and generous."⁸⁶ *Cotillon* parties were sponsored by dancing academies whose managers were of the Gratiots, Guiberts, and other old families.⁸⁷ The colorful carnival season brought an orgy of *cotillons*, reels, and occasional minuets, with balls following each other in rapid succession; special balls were arranged for children; ceremonies, presided over by the annual carnival kings and queens, afforded the more well-to-do classes an opportunity to parade silk gloves and stockings, bracelets, and earrings.⁸⁸ "I never saw anywhere," declared Brackenridge in 1811, "greater elegance of dress than I have at a ball in St. Louis."⁸⁹ The French ladies received the admiring glances of visitors for their "beauty, modesty, and agreeable manners, as well as for their taste and the splendour of their dress."⁹⁰ Bates admired the "inimitable grace" with which the ladies danced but thought this to be "too much in the style of actresses." Thomas Ashe, a British visitor of 1806, described the summer gaiety of Ste. Genevieve,

Nearly every house had its group, and every group its guitar, fidler, story-teller, or singer. As the evening advanced and the heat diminished, walking commenced, and towards midnight the music of the village united, the little world crowded to the spot and danced with infinite gaiety and mirth till past one in the morning. The Waltz had most votaries; the *Pas de deux* next; and the Fandango was the favorite of the few remaining Spaniards of the village.⁹¹

Ashe heard the sound of vespers arising from the Catholic Church at Ste. Genevieve, long before he entered the town; as he arrived, the women were still at work while the men played music, sang, or told stories. But there evidently was not lacking a prosaic side to this joyful temperament. John James Audubon, famous ornithologist, became a partner with Ferdinand Rozier in a mercantile business of Ste. Genevieve during 1812. With an irrepressible penchant for the naturalist's life, he soon converted his home into a museum. Once when he displayed a drawing of a

⁸⁵ Schultz, *Travels*, II, 60.

⁸⁶ Darby, *Personal Recollections*, 12.

⁸⁷ St. Louis *Enquirer*, February 10, 1821, *et passim*.

⁸⁸ Schultz, II, 60-61.

⁸⁹ *Louisiana Gazette*, April 11, 1811.

⁹⁰ Schultz, II, 41.

⁹¹ Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America*, London, 1808, 289.

bird to an old creole, the latter retorted that "he had better be behind the counter attending to his business instead of running around like a crazy man."⁹² Audubon seems to have disliked his neighbors of Ste. Genevieve; he soon sold his business and left for the East.

The French Sabbath was indeed peculiar in Protestant eyes. Slaves drove horses and carts and general activity belied the notion of a day of rest. The billiard rooms were crowded and the card tables were filled as the day was converted into one of amusement. One of the most popular card games was *Vingt-un*. Schultz, visiting Ste. Genevieve, described the common preoccupation with it,

I have frequently known them [the French] to sit thirty hours at the same table without any other refreshment than a dish of miserable coffee, or a glass or two of sour claret; and I recalled one instance of an infatuated young man who could ill afford it, having lost eleven hundred dollars at one sitting.⁹³

Christmas and New Year's Day evoked new pageantry. Christmas Eve in St. Louis during the early territorial period meant a midnight Mass in the crowded old log church, with Father Savine officiating before an illuminated altar amidst a dramatic silence, broken only by the solemn music of the Gregorian chant or the voice of the priest. Thereafter followed *le Reveillon*, an ample breakfast which became a joyful reunion for each family; the remainder of Christmas day was given over to religious services and at night a family dance took place.⁹⁴ On New Year's Eve, young men in grotesque costumes sang *la Guignolée*, a burlesque tune, beneath the windows of the townspeople; this singing was accompanied by a basket collection of provisions intended for the community feast of Epiphany. The following day was consumed by visits in which traditional observances gave the social reunions considerable color.⁹⁵

Family solidarity revealed itself in the composition of the various gatherings, sometimes including everyone from the great-grandfather to the youngest child. This contrasted sharply with the individualistic groups of Americans who segregated the

⁹² Mrs. Charles P. Johnson in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, February 4, 1912, quoted in the *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXI (1936-1937), 478-479.

⁹³ Schultz, II, 61.

⁹⁴ *St. Louis Weekly Reveille*, January 1, 1849, quoted in *Glimpses of the Past*, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 1933, I, No. 1, 1-3.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3-4; see the description of the festival of St. John the Baptist in the *Missouri Gazette*, June 21, 1809.

sexes sharply, presumably to protect the women from conversation that might become bawdy.⁹⁶ Towards the end of the territorial period, the social life of both groups tended to find a common denominator as Americans and French in equal number attended the same dancing assemblies.⁹⁷ Now came the day of "Old Dan Tucker," "Zip Coon," "Sailor's Hornpipe," and other American favorites.⁹⁸ Strangely enough, despite the Gallic propensity for merrymaking, the theatre had to await the Anglo-Saxon influence before it was established in Missouri.⁹⁹

Assimilation steadily took its toll of the unique French culture of Missouri. French geographic names became corrupted and in many instances were replaced by English names. Bois Brûlé in the mouth of a frontiersman became Bob Rowley; Cape Cinque Hommes was Combs; Ste. Genevieve was transformed to Send Jimaway; and Vide Poche became Wheat Bush.¹⁰⁰ Even well-educated local historians like Humphrey Marshall and government surveyors contributed to the debasement of French terms.¹⁰¹ French speech continued to prevail upon the streets of St. Louis in 1821 but it was fighting a losing battle with English.¹⁰² The dress of the *anciens habitants* altered steadily as *capots*, *moccasins*, and headkerchiefs became an increasingly rare phenomenon. Politicians still appealed to the voter on the ground that they possessed a speaking knowledge of French, but French names on the lists of candidates became fewer.¹⁰³ Segregation between groups, because of language differences, now gave way to a new compound Americanism. Sometimes emigrants from Napoleonic France found their way to Missouri; but the powerful American stream almost buried the cultural identity of the newcomers.¹⁰⁴ The old French buildings, with an occasional

⁹⁶ Caleb Atwater, *Writings of Caleb Atwater*, Columbus, Ohio, 1833, 218-219.

⁹⁷ William G. B. Carson, "The Beginnings of the Theatre in St. Louis," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, V, (1927-1928), 136.

⁹⁸ Monas N. Squires, "Merry-making in Missouri in the Old Days," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXVIII (1933-1934), 95.

⁹⁹ Noah M. Ludlow, *Dramatic Life as I Found It*, St. Louis, 1880, 180; Carson attributes the lack of a theatre to the influence of the "ascetic Gallican fathers," i. e., the attitude of such churchmen as Bishop Du Bourg, Carson, *loc. cit.*, 137.

¹⁰⁰ *Louisiana Gazette*, February 14, 1811.

¹⁰¹ *Missouri Gazette*, June 28, 1817.

¹⁰² Darby, *loc. cit.*, 5.

¹⁰³ *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, December 17, 1814; St. Louis *Enquirer*, August 2, 1820.

¹⁰⁴ *Missouri Gazette*, March 22, 1817, October 30, 1818, September 13, 1809. In 1818 came Gabriel Paul of Santo Domingo, architect, who designed the St. Louis cathedral. John A. Bryan, "Outstanding Architects in St. Louis Between 1804 and 1904," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXVII (1933-1934), 83.

Spanish structure, continued to shed the departed glory of another regime upon the Missouri frontier, but the new cities took on the dynamic aspect of Anglo-American civilization.

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The End of a Jesuit Library

Although the present paper touches upon a large subject, the suppression of the Jesuits in France, its scope is narrowed down to only one detail of the suppression: the fate of the library which the Jesuits had built up through two hundred years in their Paris College of Clermont. In fact, this paper is nothing more than a modest amplification of a footnote to an earlier brief account of that famous library.¹ The footnote summarily stated that the library of the College of Clermont² was taken from the Jesuits in 1762 and was put up for sale at public auction two years later. That bald statement tells the essential fact. But it also raises a number of obvious questions. Why was the library taken from the Jesuits? Under what circumstances was it sold? What became of the books and manuscripts? What were the proceeds of the sale, and who got the money? It is that sort of question which the present paper will try to answer.

1. THE BACKGROUND OF THE SALE

Back of the suppression of the Jesuits in France is a tangled skein of causes: echoes of the century-old Jansenist quarrel, which had thundered so loudly under Louis XIV, and which still rumbled with an impression of latent power; the persistent contentions of the various *Parlements*³ with the intelligent, but weak and uncertain Louis XV; the hostility of Louis XV's mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, and her partyman, the Duc de Choiseul; some clerical rivalries and factions; envy of the success of the Jesuits, whose colleges had eclipsed the University of Paris; and the not inconsiderable blunders of the Jesuits themselves.

The rank and file of the Jesuits, of whom there were some 4,000 in France at the time of the suppression, plodded away at their teaching and preaching and academic writings, at best only

¹ W. Kane, "Jean Garnier, Librarian," *MID-AMERICA*, XXII (April 1940), 82.

² This had been named Collège Louis-le-Grand since 1683. In contemporary use, the word was Collège; after 1830 or so, it is written Collège.

³ The *Parlements*, of which there were thirteen in France, were not Parliaments, but courts of registry and appeal, not legislative bodies, not democratic, not even representative. The *Parlement* of Paris, numbering over two hundred members, was both jealous of the royal authority and strongly Jansenist in its sympathies. Since it had jurisdiction over a third of France, it had great influence over the other *Parlements*. For a popular account of its opposition to Louis XV, see Pierre Gaxotte, *Louis XV and His Times*, translated by J. Lewis May, Philadelphia, 1934.

vaguely aware of the extent of the intrigues that surrounded them. One may doubt that so many as two per cent of the French Jesuits had any active part in, or even intimate knowledge of, the attacks and counter-attacks which made up so large a part of Jesuit history in the eighteenth century. There was storm in the air about them, soon to burst in a destroying fury; they sensed that fact; but they did not know from how many caves of the winds the storm was gathering.

Fortunately, we do not here have to go deeply into the history of the suppression of the Jesuits, a history which has not yet been adequately written, or attempt to trace out the multitudinous causes which led up to the suppression. For our purpose, it will serve to lay hold upon one chain of incidents, centering around the legal action begun against the Jesuits late in 1759. But we must keep present, in the back of our minds, the fact that the legal action was at least as much a pretext as a cause, and that its effectiveness was built upon the whole complication of causes.

The civil suits against the Jesuits of France grew out of debts incurred by Father Antoine Lavalette, the superior and procurator of the Jesuit Mission of Martinique in the West Indies.⁴ Lavalette, who had entered the Society of Jesus in France at the age of seventeen, was sent to Martinique in 1742, when he was thirty-four years old. Five years later, he was appointed procurator, or treasurer, of the mission. He found the mission materially in poor shape, struggling rather futilely with debts. He carried out some bold plans to improve its revenues, including the purchase of a large plantation in Santo Domingo. In the course of the next five years, 1747-1752, he made a good deal of money for the mission. The governor of Martinique, de Bompar, was his good friend; and the intendant, Hurson, defended him when he was accused of illegal trafficking. The provincial of the Jesuits, back in France, had him made superior of the mission as well as procurator.

During those first five years of Lavalette's operations, some of the Jesuit procurators in France had been acting as his agents. But as his bills of discount mounted up, the French procurators shrank from carrying them; and one of the procurators, Father de Sacy, suggested in 1752 that Lavalette open an account with

⁴ Camille de Rochemonteix, S. J., *Le Père Antoine Lavalette à la Martinique*, Paris, 1907, recounts faithfully and skillfully the facts about Father Lavalette, using contemporary documents. One may be grateful for his full presentation of facts, without accepting all of his interpretations of the facts.

Lioncy Frères et Gouffre, bankers of Marseilles. Talk of Lavalette's large-scale investments alarmed the Government, and the Minister of Marine, Comte Rouillé, called Lavalette back to France in 1753, to answer charges that he was contravening the laws. The Jesuit superiors in France, as well as the authorities in Martinique, came to his defense; and he was cleared and sent back to Martinique, still superior and procurator.

In 1756, the year after his return to Martinique, disasters began to pile up. Lioncy and Gouffre failed, and hence Lavalette's paper was suddenly called in. The opening of the Seven Years' War brought the capture of some of Lavalette's ships by the English, with a loss to him of 2,000,000 livres. The creditors of Lioncy and Gouffre, and another creditor of Lavalette's, the widow Grou, brought suit, not against the far-off Lavalette, but against the Jesuits in France: the Lioncy suit for 1,500,000 livres, the widow Grou's for 3,000 livres. On January 30, 1760, the Consular Court of Paris gave judgment in favor of the Grou claim; and four months later a similar lower court of Marseilles granted the Lioncy claim.

The Jesuits protested against these decisions of the lower courts; and the manner of their protest was their greatest blunder at that perilous time. They took refuge in technical legal denials of responsibility, apparently unaware, or refusing to acknowledge, that no technical defense would avail against their real enemies. They displayed a slightly panicky resentment against Lavalette, court-martialed him, deposed him from his twofold office on November 8, 1761, and suspended him *a divinis* five months later.⁵ They had the right to appeal to the King and the Royal Council; but they chose instead to make their plea to the King's opponents, the *Parlements* of Paris and Marseilles.

By that appeal the French Jesuits put their necks in the noose. They had disclaimed accountability for the debts of the Mission of Martinique on the ground that their Institute made each Jesuit house or mission an independent fiscal unit. That ground of disclaimer gave the Paris *Parlement* an opening which it welcomed, to demand that the Jesuit Constitutions and other

⁵ Lavalette submitted so humbly to the sentences imposed on him that the Visitor empowered by the General to deal with him, Father Jean de la Marche, recommended clemency. Lavalette was sent to Amsterdam, where he was dismissed from the Society by the General, Lorenzo Ricci. De la Marche agreed to pay him a pension of 1,000 livres a year; but as the property of the mission was sequestered by the Government in 1763, the pension could not be paid. Lavalette, after two years at Amsterdam, went to live in Toulouse, where he died, December 13, 1767. Rochemonteix, 263-275.

writings be brought into court for official examination. From then on it was a field day for the *Parlement*.

On May 8, 1761, about a year after the Jesuits had lodged their appeal, the Paris *Parlement* decided that the General and the whole Society of Jesus were responsible for Lavalette's debts, which amounted to some 4,500,000 livres, and ordered them to pay up within a year. If they did not pay, their creditors could distrain upon the possessions of the Jesuits in France, which were estimated as then worth about 58,000,000 livres.⁶ Louis XV intervened on August 2, 1761, and ordered the sentence suspended for six months to allow of further examination. But the *Parlement* ignored his order; and he was too weak to enforce it.

The General of the Jesuits, Father Ricci, appointed Father Henri Griffet as his financial agent in France, and Father Griffet, who did not want the job, passed it on to Father Pierre Gatin, the procurator of the Mission of Martinique. By January 12, 1762, Father Gatin had raised 502,000 livres from the five provincial procurators in France. He borrowed another 860,000 livres in England. But his further efforts were halted by the *Parlement*, which in reality did not want the debts paid; what it wanted was to destroy the Jesuits.

By a decree of April 23, 1762, the *Parlement* of Paris sequestered all the property of the Jesuits, movable and immovable. It had already closed, three weeks before, all the Jesuit colleges; now it took them over entirely. Out of the sequestered properties, a pension of a livre a day was offered by a decree of August 6, 1762, to the priests (not the scholastics) who would take the Gallican oath.⁷ There remained then, at the most, only a few technicalities to be carried out before the destruction of the Jesuits in France would be complete.

2. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE SALE

On the face of it, the course of the Paris *Parlement* against the Jesuits was coldly legal, no matter how much sneering malevolence crept into the legal terminology. The Jesuits had got into debt, and the *Parlement* was judicially seeing to it that the debts were paid out of the property of the Jesuits. That was

⁶ J. Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire Religieuse Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris, 1846, V, 218, n. 1. He had set Lavalette's debts down as 2,400,000 livres tournois; but Rochemonteix, 214, indicates that they were 4,500,000 livres.

⁷ Crétineau-Joly, V, 218, n. 2, is bitter about the inadequacy of this pension of 365 livres a year. But on his own showing, the Jesuits had previously been spending only 300 livres a year for each man. In any case, the pension was soon discontinued.

the core of the legal contention put forward in the *Arrêt* of April 23, 1762: the efforts of the *Parlement* to safeguard the interests of the Jesuit creditors.⁸

Now the property of the Jesuits, even at Crétineau-Joly's conservative estimate, was worth some thirteen times as much as Lavalette's debts. That fact made it extremely difficult for the *Parlement* to keep up the pretense of justice. In plain language, the pickings were too rich, the opportunities for wholesale jobbing were too many. Nevertheless, the show of legality had to be maintained: a task made somewhat easier by the fact that the machinery of the law was useful for piling up "costs of court."

We cannot here go into all the interesting shifts the *Parlement* was put to by the need of keeping up legal appearances. Take one instance as a sample, an instance which is closely connected with the sale of the library. By an *Arrêt* of August 30, 1763, confirmed by the King on November 21, 1763, four years after the suits against Lavalette were first begun, the *Parlement* of Paris turned over the buildings of the Collège Louis-le-Grand to the University of Paris, then only a tottering skeleton of the great mediaeval University. The University really was scarcely functioning as such at that time, and was in no position to make much use of the buildings. Hence the *Parlement* soon found it advisable to leave the University in little more than nominal possession, whilst keeping the use of the buildings for a new College, still under the old name,¹⁰ but with a new administrative staff. It was hoped that into this new College might be gathered the bursars of some of the rival small colleges of Paris (there were about thirty of them), who would be given scholarships out of the "immense wealth" of the Jesuits.

One cannot help asking: what had all this to do with paying the Jesuit creditors? It was obvious that the University of Paris

⁸ The collected decrees of the Paris *Parlement* dealing with the Jesuits from 1760 to the expulsion were published in nine quarto volumes, in Paris, 1766. One of the printed copies of the decree we are here concerned with, of April 23, 1762, is in the Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans.

⁹ A very pretty instance occurred in the sale of the library of the Jesuit house of noviceship in Paris. The books were sold, without an inventory or catalogue of sale, for 10,000 livres, and the "costs" came to 15,000 livres; A. Geoffroy, *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, Paris, 1856, V, 383, quoting the *Journal* of Johann Heinrich Liden (1741-1793), the Swedish literateur, who had visited Paris and talked with Father Gabriel Brotier, the last Jesuit librarian of the College, in 1769.

¹⁰ The buildings of the Collège Louis-le-Grand were made national property in 1790, and the College was successively named *Collège Egalité*, *Prytanée Français*, and *Lycée Impérial*, until, after Waterloo, it became again the Collège Louis-le-Grand; G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Du Collège de Clermont au Lycée Louis-le-Grand, 1563-1920*, Paris, 1921.

and the new administration of the Collège Louis-le-Grand had no connection whatever with Lavalette's debts; but it was equally obvious that both were friends of the *Parlement* and were hungry for money. In fact, even in the *Arrêt* itself, of April 23, 1762, the *Parlement*, with all its virtuous talk of the interests of the Jesuit creditors, had let slip that it was looking for money to pay the new administration of the College.

The next step in the legal chicanery was clear enough. It was practically impossible to sell the buildings of the College; but it was easy to sell its library and collection of coins and curios. Hence it was that, a little more than three months after the decree confiscating the Jesuit property, another decree was issued ordering the sale of the library.

In the face of such thinly veiled robbery, the Jesuits unquestionably were not bound to be sticklers for the niceties of legal permission to dispose of their own property. In the beginning, they had foolishly entertained hopes built upon the supposed integrity of the *Parlement*. But after the decree of August 6, 1761, which ordered them to give up their religious garb, and to cease teaching in their colleges by April 1, 1762, they realized that they were doomed. During the nine months in which they were still left in possession of their property, they managed to sell some of their rare books to the Duc de la Vallière,¹¹ and the Comte de Lauraguais. But once the *Parlement* had taken over the College, such surreptitious sale of the books naturally came to an end.

In the *Arrêt* of August 6, 1762, which ordered the sale of the library, and in another decree of a month later, the *Parlement* had appointed commissioners to make an inventory and to arrange for a catalogue of sale. The chief commissioner was the Abbé Henri Philippe Chauvelin, a violent enemy of the Jesuits. His first act was to take over, seal, and cart away a number of "very important" manuscripts.¹² Then he assigned the task of

¹¹ The Duc de la Vallière (1708-1780) was a grandnephew of Louise de la Vallière, once the mistress of Louis XIV, who at thirty became a Carmelite nun and lived a holy life for thirty-six years more. He had built up one of the most famous libraries in France. After his death, the rarer books (their catalogue of sale filled three thick octavo volumes) were sold in 1783 for 464,677 livres, 8 sols. The much larger number of books remaining were sold first to M. de Paulmy, then by him to the Comte d'Artois, and finally became part of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. *Biographie Générale*, XXIX, 991-992.

¹² Joseph Brucker, S. J., "Episode d'une Confiscation de Biens Congréganistes (1762), Les Manuscrits des Jésuites de Paris," *Études*, Paris, LXXXVIII (1901), 506-509. From the Professed House he took away a big box containing 19 bound volumes of MSS, and 156 bundles of MSS; from

inventory and cataloguing for the sale to two groups: for the books in the libraries of the College and the Professed House,¹³ the booksellers, Antoine Claude Saugrain and Laurent François Leclerc; for the manuscripts, the librarian of the Benedictines of St. Maur in the Abbey St. Germain-des-Prés, Dom Patert, who chose five other Benedictines to help him.¹⁴

The inventories and the cataloguing were both very sloppily done. As to the books, the combined libraries of the College (6,752 items) and of the Professed House (7,252 items) had shrunk immensely by the time they were offered for sale. The last Jesuit librarian of the College, Father Gabriel Brotier, told Liden in 1769 that the books listed in the catalogues of sale represented only a tenth of the actual contents of the two libraries.¹⁵ The manuscripts, after the depletion by the Abbé Chauvelin, were taken to the Abbey St. Germain-des-Prés, where 856 manuscripts of the College and 116 manuscripts of the Professed House were catalogued. A considerable number were not cata-

the College he took three smaller cartons, containing 17 bound volumes of MSS, and some loose pieces. Some of these were historical papers, others were title deeds, legal documents, "amongst which may be some that the creditors can find helpful." Although the president, Rolland, made a report of these MSS to the *Parlement* in 1768, the MSS remained in Chauvelin's possession until his death, January 14, 1770. Two days later, an *Arrêt* of the *Parlement* demanded the MSS. They afterwards became the property of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Ibid.*, 509.

¹³ There were three libraries of the Jesuits in Paris, in the College, the Professed House, and the Novitiate. The looting of the Novitiate was in some ways the rawest performance of all. The library had a good collection of MSS, which had been given it by the Canons Regular of St. Victor. The Canons put in a claim for them, which was not allowed; they actually had to buy them back. It was this library which was sold for 5,000 livres less than the "costs" of the sale. A few years later, the building of the Novitiate became the headquarters of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons. *Ibid.*, 508, n. 1.

¹⁴ Of his own abbey, Dom Patert chose as helpers Dom Housseau and Dom Grenier. He also called in three Benedictines from the house curiously called *Blancs-Manteaux*, because it had once, before their suppression in 1298, been the monastery of the Servites who wore white habits. These three were Dom Ursin Durand, Dom Tassin, and Dom Clément. It was Dom Clément who finally drew up the catalogue, after the others had mulled over it for a month or so. *Ibid.*, 510. Brucker says (506, n. 1): "Malheureusement la célèbre congrégation de Saint-Maur était alors presque toute infectée de jansénisme."

On the *Blancs-Manteaux*, who were also of the Congregation of St. Maur, see P. Helyot, *Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux*, Paris, 1847, I, 507-508, II, 432-440.

¹⁵ For Liden's report, see Geoffroy, *Archives des Missions, Scientifiques et Littéraires*, Paris, 1856, V, 384. Father Gabriel Brotier (1723-1789) left France for a time after the suppression of the Jesuits, but came back to Paris, where he lived with the bookseller, De la Tour, wrote and published scholarly works, was made a member of the Académie des Inscriptions in 1783, and died February 12, 1789. Besides some thirty published pieces, Brotier left a great deal of work in MS, which at one time was in the library of a later house of studies for the French Jesuits; C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, II, 206-217.

logged at all, yet were actually included in the sale; others remained at the Abbey.¹⁶ We shall look into the fate of these manuscripts later on.

The two catalogues were published, to be sold by Saugrain and Leclerc, early in 1764; and a third catalogue, with which we are not here concerned, was made of the coins and curios.¹⁷ With the catalogues of sale ready, and the date for opening the auction set for March 19, 1764, the administrators of the College thought they had a clear field before them. But before they could begin to touch the money, there were some obstacles in the way.

The first obstacle was the claim entered on July 29, 1763, by the Prince de Tingry, whose mother was the daughter of the de Harlay who had given his library to the College back in 1717; de Tingry claimed the books as the heir of de Harlay. The claim of the Canons Regular of St. Victor to the manuscripts they had given to the library of the Jesuit Novitiate had been refused; but the powerful de Tingry was heard graciously. On January 23, 1764, the *Parlement* decided that he could have any of the books and manuscripts which he could identify; and since the gifts of de Harlay had been shelved with the rest of the library, and could not be distinguished without a great deal of labor, the Prince de Tingry was to have in compensation for those books 25,000 livres from the proceeds of the sale of the library.¹⁸

¹⁶ Brucker, 511-513, goes into some detail regarding these MSS which did not appear in the catalogue of sale. In particular, he traces the MSS of the Jesuit, Pierre François Chiffet. Chauvelin says, in the *Procès-verbal*, which Father Brucker had thoroughly studied, that he had spent the whole of the first day of his inventory on these MSS of Chiffet's. They filled three big boxes; and there were 67 bundles of MSS in the first two boxes. They were sold with the rest of the MSS to Meermann, and were catalogued separately in the sale of Meermann's MSS in 1824, and in Valentin Rose's catalogue in Berlin. Most of the uncatalogued MSS were kept by the Benedictines, and after the Revolution (1793) were taken over by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

¹⁷ *Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque des ci-devants soi-disans Jésuites du Collège de Clermont, Dont la Vente commencera le Lundi 19 Mars 1764*. A Paris au Palais, chez Saugrain, à la Bonne Foi Couronnée, Leclerc, à la Prudence, M.DCC.LXIV. Although this contained xviii+488 pages, it was no more than a check list of the books, under five main divisions: theology, jurisprudence, sciences and arts, literature, and history. *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Codicum Collegii Claromontani, Quem Excipit Catalogus MSSrum. Domus Professae Parisiensis*. Paris in Palatio, apud Saugrain, etc. For the College MSS, this had xii+350 pages, and for the Professed House MSS 44 pages. The description of each MS is very summary, mentioning only its material (parchment or paper), its size, pagination, brief of contents when it contains a number of items, and author.

¹⁸ For the account of the Prince de Tingry's suit and judgment, see the *Mémoires Secrets* (supposedly written by Louis de Bachaumont), 6 vols., London, 1777, I, 258, II, 12. (The *Mémoires Secrets*, to which Pidansat de Mairabert and others added thirty volumes, were a collection of gossip, verse, news stories, etc., the equivalent of a modern newspaper.) Those

There was a little more pulling and hauling between the University and the new administration of the College, since these did not love each other very much, and were each jealously eager to get as large a share of the spoils as possible. But the *Parlement* settled that contention by allowing the Abbé Fourneau, the headmaster of the new administration, to choose what books he wanted by bidding them in at the sale.¹⁹ After these hitches were cleared up, there was an immediate bustle of preparation for the sale of the books, some of the details of which can be gathered from the final accounting made by the administrators of the College.²⁰

A classroom in the College, conveniently near the library, was selected as the place for the sale; a glazier, M. Bertin, was hired to repair the broken windows of the room; a carpenter, M. Monguin, built a few small tables to hold the books as they were offered for bidding; two men, Marque and Baudouin, pasted up 2,100 posters announcing the sale; a couple of carts and porters were hired to carry off the books written by Jesuits which the *Parlement* had condemned to be burned; an auctioneer was engaged to supervise the sales, at seven livres a day, and five assistants who were to get three deniers each for every volume sold; a crier, at 30 sous a day, to receive and announce the bids; a clerk, at another 30 sous a day, to keep the immediate records of the sales; and then the auction was ready to begin. The actual days of sale were 118, spread over a space of about seven months.

Using the commissions for sales, 15 deniers a volume, as a basis for calculation, the total payments to the five assistant auctioneers of 1,525 livres, 8 sols, 9 deniers, would indicate that there were 24,507 volumes actually sold. That indication, however, is not absolutely certain. Against it must be considered such facts as that the 29 periodicals, listed as items numbers 6517-

books that de Tingry got from the library, he promptly turned over to the University of Paris. A similar claim had been set up by M. de Charsigné, the heir of Daniel Huet (bishop of Avranches, and formerly tutor of Louis XIV) for the considerable library of books and manuscripts which he had given to the Professed House. This claim also was granted by the *Parlement*; and many of the items could be identified by Huet's book plates and other marks; Alfred Franklin, *Les Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, Paris, 1867-1870, II, 260, n. 1. But Brucker, 513, n. 1, proves that five at least of the Huet MSS were sold with the 116 listed in the catalogue. A few of these MSS are in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and Ste. Geneviève; the rest went later to the Bibliothèque Royale.

¹⁹ There is some uncertainty as to how much the Abbé Fourneau took from the library. The point will be touched upon later.

²⁰ This final accounting, which we shall also meet again, was printed by Franklin, *Anciennes Bibliothèques*, II, 263-265, from a MS in the National Archives.

6546 in the catalogue, alone represented 3,284 volumes, and that other items represented as many as thirty or forty volumes each. The suspicion arises that the periodicals may have been lumped in some way for the payment of the commissions. Hence it is not unlikely that the total number of volumes sold amounted to more than 24,507; but just what it was exactly, we have no way of knowing.

It had never been intended that the manuscript collections, both of the College and of the Professed House, should be included in the sale of the books. From start to finish, the handling of the manuscripts was very queer: not at all a mysterious fact, in view of their renown. In the Preface to the catalogue of the manuscripts prepared for the sale, it was announced that the manuscripts would be sold piece by piece at some date to be named later, "unless some one offered a lump sum to the Administrators of the Collège Louis-le-Grand before September 1, 1764." Father Brotier had tried to get the clergy of Paris to raise a fund for the purchase of all the Jesuit libraries in Paris, but with no success; they would not even make an offer for the manuscripts.²¹

Armand Jérôme Bignon, the King's not very competent librarian, offered 6,000 livres for his choice of 278 manuscripts,²² a sum shockingly small to the *Parlement*, which had dreams of the "Jesuit wealth."²³ A Dutch scholar, Gerard Meermann, made a flat offer of 15,000 livres for the entire 972 manuscripts, cash within thirty days. Father Brotier assured Liden that Meermann's offer did not equal one-fourth of the cost of materials and scribes' labor alone in producing the manuscripts. But the *Parlement* wanted money in a hurry, and it did not want too much looking into the whole business of the manuscripts; besides, it was happy in being able to thwart the King; it accepted Meermann's offer. Thus, the manuscripts went to Holland. We shall see later on what happened to them.

²¹ Brucker, 513, n. 5.

²² *Ibid.*, 514. Liden said of Bignon: "Plus brillant par ses titres et ses rubans que par son érudition"; Geoffroy, V, 383.

²³ In a copy of the *Catalogus Manuscriptorum*, in the Elizabeth M. Cudahy Library, Loyola University, Chicago, this marginal notation is written on the title page by the same hand that annotated the prices throughout the catalogue of books: "Ces MSS ont été vendus au roy 19000#." The statement, of course, is incorrect. It was probably written whilst the offer of the King's librarian was vaguely rumored about and enlarged, especially as Meermann's offer was not closed with until December 6, 1764.

3. THE PROCEEDS OF THE SALE

The sources of information about the proceeds of the sale are chiefly these three: 1. *Recueil de toutes les délibérations prises par le bureau d'administration du Collège Louis-le-Grand*; 2. *Bref État pour compter de la Vente des Livres, Médailles et autres Curiosités du Collège Louis-le-Grand*, the final summary financial statement; and 3. a copy of the catalogue of the sale of the books, with the prices written in the margins opposite each item sold.²⁴ These three sources show considerable discrepancies, in spite of the fact that the first two are the work of the same group of administrators, headed by the Abbé Fourneau.

Consider first the gross proceeds of the sale as shown in the final accounting by the administrators.* This is given as amounting to 121,729 livres, 2 sols; of which 10,691 livres, 4 sols came from the sale of the coins and curios, and 111,037 livres, 18 sols from the sale of the books.²⁵ On the other hand, a careful addition of the detailed prices set down in the margins of the catalogue of the books yields only 91,588 livres, 14 sols. Even if we add to this sum the 15,000 livres which Meermann paid for the manuscripts, we still have only 106,588 livres, 14 sols, or 4,449 livres, 4 sols less than the sum which the administrators claim to have got for the books.

If we assume that the prices marked in the catalogue of sale are as carefully and exactly entered as they seem to be, there are two probable explanations of why the total proceeds set down by the administrators should differ so much for the total prices in the catalogue. The first explanation is just plain bad arithmetic on the part of the administrators. We shall see in a moment a striking instance of the bad arithmetic in the financial accounting itself. The second explanation, which gets its probability from what we know of the circumstances of the cataloguing and the sale, is that more books were sold than were listed in the sale catalogue.

²⁴ Alfred Franklin has used the first two documents, both in his earlier account, "Le Bibliothèque du Collège Louis-le-Grand," in Techener's *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, Paris, 1865, XXXI, 363-391, and in his later *Anciennes Bibliothèques*. In the latter, he calls attention to some of the manifest errors in arithmetic, but makes no attempt to explain the discrepancies. The marked copy of the catalogue is in the Elizabeth M. Cudahy Memorial Library, Loyola University, Chicago. Franklin, *Anciennes Bibliothèques*, II, 259, n. 4, says that there was another priced copy of the catalogue of books in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

* For the meaning of the monetary terms following, see the Note at the end of this article.

²⁵ The *Bref État* states definitely that this latter sum came from "la vente des livres" with no mention of the proceeds of the sale of the MSS; Franklin, *Anciennes Bibliothèques*, II, 263.

In any case, we still have only probabilities, not certainty, as to what really were the gross proceeds of the sale: something between 117,000 and 122,000 livres. We shall have to leave it at that. For the details of the sale, we obviously have to depend on the priced copy of the catalogue, which affords a good deal of information, both general and specific. But in a brief paper such as this, it is possible only to hint at the wealth of information which would be of interest to a bibliographer.

There are, for instance, suggestions as to the tastes of the bidders in the fact that the collection of books in history, which amounted to about two-thirds of the total number of items, brought in only some 46 per cent of the total proceeds; whilst the prices paid for books in the division of theology averaged just about twice the average prices paid for the books in history: 22 livres, 10 sols, against 11 livres, 12 sols.

Here we must recognize that the prices paid for old books are one of the major mysteries of economics. Not merely are such prices affected by the many and subtle influences which shape prices in general; they have also a host of their own special influences, of which the most powerful are the current enthusiasms of each particular period and place in our changing civilizations. Even in the few illustrations we have space for, we must keep that fact in mind.

Incunabula, for instance, were not so highly esteemed in eighteenth-century France as they are in twentieth-century America. Thus, even on the basis of ten livres equalling ten dollars, it is rather startling to a modern bookman to see a *Divina Comedia di Dante*, folio, with illustrations, published at Venice in 1491, sold for 10 livres (no. 2839 in catalogue), and still more startling to find a "*Claudii Ptolmaei Geographiae Libri VIII*, Romae, 1482, in-fol., *fig. enluminées*" going for 20 livres (no. 3082). When some bidder paid 150 livres for a Florentine 1494 edition of *Anthologia Graecorum Epigrammatum*, it brought this grumbling notation on the margin of the catalogue: "Belle impression et beau papier mais acheté le double de sa valeur" (no. 2579).

But in some of the commonly accepted rare books, the price paid was fairly high. The first book sold was a copy of Cardinal Ximenes' Polyglot Bible, 6 folio volumes, published at Alcalá, 1502-1517, which was sold for 619 livres. Dibdin says that the original price when the work was issued was 40 livres, that a copy was sold in England, in 1777, for £42, that "an exceedingly fine" copy was then (1827) on sale in England for £63, but that

a "very good" copy could be had for £36, 15s.²⁶ Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible, 6 volumes folio, London, 1657, together with the two volumes of Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669) sold for 302 livres; and a copy of the *Lexicon* alone sold for 34 livres. This compares with an original price of £2 for the Polyglot, a sale price in London, 1759, of 7 guineas, which Dibdin calls, "exceeding belief, on the score of cheapness," and a price in 1827 of £31, 10s for the Bible and *Lexicon* together.²⁷

Although there were plenty of Jansenists in Paris in 1764, it is odd that the forty items in the catalogue touching on the Jansenist controversy sold at quite low prices, the *Augustinus* of Jansen himself, published in 1640, two years after his death, selling for 3 livres, 2 sols (no. 718). To balance that out, the *Voyage de la Louisiane, fait par ordre du Roi en 1720*, by the Jesuit Antoine Laval, the man who set up the first astronomical observatory in what is now the United States, also sold for only 3 livres, 2 sols (no. 3213).²⁸

It is not so hard to understand why the *Systema Bibliothecae* of Jean Garnier (no. 6482), published by Cramoisy, Paris, 1678, should sell for the lowest price marked in the catalogue, 1 livre. The library which Garnier had classified was now going out of existence. Nor could anyone foresee that Garnier's *Systema* would become of great interest to future librarians, and would sell for \$30 in 1940. But it is strange that item no. 1721, "Gullielmus Gilbertus de Magnete, Magneticisque corporibus, & de magno Magnete Tellure. Lond. Short, 1600, in-fol." should fetch no more than 1 livre, 8 sols. Quaritch offered it (no. 12,061) in 1868 for 25 shillings; and Goldschmidt of London offered it in 1940 (list 29, No. 85) for £65!

In 1764, men were not thinking much about aeroplanes or airships. One man who had some ideas about them was Francesco Lana-Terzi, S. J. (1631-1687). He published his theories, with illustrations, in *Prodromo, overo Saggio di Alcune Inven-*

²⁶ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Introduction to . . . the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4th edition, London, 1827, I, 8-9, notes. It must be noted that the Alcalá (Complutensian) Polyglot was scarce from the beginning, since only 600 copies were printed.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 35. Walton's Polyglot was printed in large numbers. As late as 1673, Dr. Castell told a friend that "he had at least 1,000 copies left"; Dibdin, I, 32, note. Bernard Quaritch's *Catalogue* of 1868 offered a finely bound copy of Polyglot and *Lexicon*, 8 vols. (no. 12,907), for £63, and a copy of the Bible alone, 6 vols., in old calf "neat, a bargain," for £16, and a copy "in the original old calf" of the Polyglot and *Lexicon*, 8 vols., for £24 (no. 9639).

²⁸ The only edition of the *Voyage* is that of Paris, 1728. A librarian in the United States considered himself fortunate to get a copy for \$40 in 1940.

tioni, etc., folio, Brescia, 1670. At the sale, a copy of that work (no. 2034) brought just 2 livres, although a copy of his *Magisterium Naturae et Artis*, Brescia, 1684, was sold for 31 livres. Yet in 1940, when curiosity about airships was great, a copy of a reprint of Chapter VI alone of the *Prodromo*, published at Naples in 1784, twenty years after the sale, fetched \$60.

Bound sets of four of the great serial publications sold for prices that seem incredibly low today. No. 6517, *Journal des Sçavans*, an unbroken run of 93 volumes, 1665-1762, with the indexes, brought only 302 livres; no. 6525, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*,²⁹ 1701-1761, 260 volumes, brought 267 livres; no. 6545, *Mercure de France*, 1672-1762, lacking only eight issues of the 992 volumes, sold for 300 livres; and no. 6546, *Recueil de Gazettes de France*, 1631-1761, an unbroken 131 volumes, sold for 370 livres.

On the other hand, the 45 volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*, up to the 28th of September, together with three volumes of Papebroch's controversies about the work (nos. 3956-3958), brought the excellent price of 1,525 livres, or about 30 livres a volume; and no. 4297, Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1723-1751, the 25 volumes bound in 28, sold for 381 livres.

There is no mention in the catalogue of the sale, of even a single copy of the Jesuit *Relations*,³⁰ or the *Lettres Edifiantes*, which after 1702 in some sort took their place. Were these some of the books withdrawn by the Jesuits themselves, when they knew that their property was to be taken away? Or were they "withdrawn" by the *Parlement*? "Retiré" is written in the margin against nine items, nos. 1168-1176, which are various editions of the Jesuit Constitutions and Rules. These were copies that had escaped the earlier withdrawal by the *Parlement*. For some unknown reason, the seven volumes of the *Encyclopedie* of Diderot and d'Alembert, 1751 sqq., are also marked as "withdrawn."

Two other items marked "retirés" are manuscript volumes, *Registres du Conseil et du Parlement*, one volume each for 1544-1566 and for 1620-1631, and nine volumes for 1648-1652. It is

²⁹ This is the famous *Journal de Trévoux*, edited by the Jesuits of the Collège Louis-le-Grand; see Gustave Dumas, *Histoire du Journal de Trévoux, depuis 1701 jusqu'en 1762*, Paris, 1836. The fairly large stock of "back numbers" on hand in the College, listed in the catalogue of the sale (no. 6526) as 1,200 volumes, bound and unbound, was sold for 61 livres, 1 sol.

³⁰ Between 1632 and 1673 there were 41 *Relations* published in 132 editions. See James C. McCoy, *Jesuit Relations of Canada*, Paris, 1937. How and why they came to an end is succinctly told by Jean Delanglez, S. J., *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, New Orleans, 1935, 375 et seq.

possible that these had belonged to de Harlay's library; and therefore may have been taken by his heir, de Tingry. But they may have been taken for the King, since Louis XV was eager to get hold of manuscripts concerning the history of France, and particularly of the *Parlements*.

When one takes into account the circumstances and the time of the sale, just after the disastrous Seven Years' War, one realizes that the prices brought by the books were, on the whole, quite good prices. What may seem to us wild vagaries in the range of prices were inevitable in a sale spread out over 118 days, and attended by a great variety of bidders;³¹ they could easily be matched in many an auction sale before and since that time.

4. WHAT BECAME OF THE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS?

When a fairly large library is broken up, as the Jesuit library was, by gift, filching, and sale, it is naturally impossible to trace the ultimate destination of its varied contents except by some vague and general indications. A few of these indications are offered here; but in presenting them, we must make a distinction between the fate of the books and that of the manuscripts. We know rather more about what happened to the manuscripts than about what happened to the books.

Here is the gist of what has been ascertained about the books. It is almost certain that some of the books were sold by the Jesuits themselves to de la Vallière and de Lauraguais; but how many, we do not know. It is quite certain that a considerable number of the books, perhaps one-fifth of all those listed in the catalogue of sale, were bid in by the Abbé Fourneau, to be kept in the new Collège Louis-le-Grand. Jean Capperonier bought some of the books for the Royal Library.³² Prince de Tingry gave

³¹ The man who marked the prices in the margin of the catalogue caught a particular instance of this variety in prices due to a difference in bidders. Item no. 5852, "Jornada do arcebispo de Goa Don Aleixo de Menezes, Primaz da India Oriental, por Antonio de Gouvea. *En Coimbra*, 1606, *in-fol.*" was sold for 29 livres, 19 sols. The marginal note says: "tres cher," and calls attention to no. 3492, another copy of the same book, which sold for 1 livre, 4 sols, which was only one twenty-fifth of the price of the second copy offered. The copy listed earlier appears in the section: Church History of Spain and Portugal. When that section was put up for bidding, the bidders were probably French ecclesiastics not particularly erudite in general history. When the second copy came to be sold, it was listed in the section: History of the East Indies. The men who came to bid in books in that section were well aware of the value of Gouvea's work. Quaritch, in his catalogue for 1868 (no. 3579), offered this book for £4, 4s; and implied in his annotation that he was offering it at a bargain price.

³² Jean Capperonier (1716-1775) began as a clerk in the Bibliothèque du Roi when he was seventeen years old, became Keeper of Manuscripts

the books which he got to the library of the University of Paris. It is most likely that many of the books were neither catalogued for sale nor actually sold at all, but remained in the possession of the new administrators. For the rest, the major part of the books sold were widely scattered amongst many purchasers, and in time passed through the hands of many owners; some of them even crop up today in the distant libraries of the United States.

We can follow most of the manuscripts with more definiteness. Those that the Abbé Chauvelin carted off, those that the Benedictines kept in the Abbey St. Germain-des Prés, and those that de Charsigné got on his claim, finally found their way into the Bibliothèque Nationale through one or other of the libraries that went to make up the Nationale. Gerard Meermann bought close on to a thousand manuscripts, of which nearly nine-tenths came from the old collection of the Collège de Clermont.³³ Just how large a part his purchase was of the total collection, it is hard to say; but at any rate we can trace the story of this last group with considerable detail and exactness.

Meermann's agent in Paris began packing the manuscripts for shipment, in fifteen large cases, within twenty-four hours of the purchase on December 6, 1764; but he was not to get them out of France for four and a half months. Louis XV hated to see them go. By royal order the shipment was held up at Rouen until April 16, 1765, under various pretexts, which really reduced to the fact that the King wanted his divvy. In the end he got it. Meermann, to avoid still further and more troublesome legal delay, offered to give some of the manuscripts to the King. A list of forty-two was handed to him as the King's choice of the lot, mostly French historical manuscripts. Meermann compromised by giving up thirty-five of those on the list, and five others not asked for. In return, he got the Order of St. Michael, which he never wore, and was allowed to go on his way with the rest of the manuscripts.³⁴

Meermann took the manuscripts to La Haye, where they

in 1759, and Keeper of Printed Books in 1760, under Bignon, the official librarian; *Biographie Générale*, VIII, 626.

³³ These had been known to scholars as the *Claremontana MSS*, and although dating from the eighth to the thirteenth century, had been mostly acquired by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. Of the 972 MSS listed in the catalogue of sale, there were 375 Greek MSS, 367 old Latin MSS, 62 oriental languages MSS, 27 Chinese MSS, 116 French MSS, and 25 Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese MSS. Of these, it will be remembered, 116 came from the Professed House. Largely upon these manuscripts had been based the work of Fronton de Duc, Sirmond, Pétiau, Labbe, Cossart, Garnier, and other Jesuit writers.

³⁴ H. Omont, in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, 1891, 10-14.

formed the choicest and largest part of the collection known as Meermanniana, kept them and added to them until his death in 1771. His son inherited the collection, and again added to it, until he died in 1824. Then the son's heirs put the whole collection, numbering about 1,100 manuscripts, up for auction, June 8 to July 3, 1824. There was no lack of bidders at the sale; but there was one man there who had money enough, and eagerness, to buy practically anything he wanted, Sir Thomas Phillips, of Middle Hill, Worcestershire, England.³⁵ Phillips bought about three-fourths of the Meermanniana for 67,500 francs; and his purchase included the larger part of the *Claromontana MSS*.³⁶

Phillips at his death left Thirlestane House and his collection of manuscripts to his youngest daughter, Katherine, who had married an Anglican clergyman named Fenwick. Her son, Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick, sought permission of Chancery in 1885 to sell the manuscripts, and was permitted to do so on condition that he sell them to those who could pay to keep the large groups together, such as national or other large libraries. A catalogue of sale was drawn up in 1885; and the *Claromontana MSS*, 622 in number, were offered for sale to Leopold Delisle for the Bibliothèque Nationale, July 20, 1886. But Delisle could not get the French government to buy them.³⁷

The *Claromontana MSS* were then offered to the German government, which bought them in 1887 for 375,000 marks, or 468,750 francs. These manuscripts are now in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. In 1893, Valentin Rose published a catalogue of them.³⁸

³⁵ Phillips, born in 1792, inherited a fortune from his father in 1818, and was made a baronet, in the usual way for rich men, in 1821. He spent much time and money in amassing MSS, which became known as the Mediomontana MSS. He had welcomed the Benedictine, Dom Jean-Baptiste Pitra, who later became librarian of the Vatican and a Cardinal, when he visited England in 1849. But after he moved his residence to Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, in 1862, for some reason he refused to allow priests access to his collection. At his death, February 6, 1872, his collection numbered some 40,000 MSS. Dom Henri Leclercq, *op. cit.*, col. 934. Father Brucker says that Phillips' daughter removed the ban on priests, and that he himself was warmly welcomed on his two visits to see the MSS in 1881-1882. Brucker, *loc. cit.*, 516-517.

³⁶ Phillips allowed Thomas Gaisford, the dean of Christ Church, to bid in forty Greek MSS for the Bodleian; he himself bought 241 Greek MSS. Brucker, 516; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, XV, 1079.

³⁷ In the *Bibliotheca Philippica*, Cheltenham, 1885, the Jesuit MSS are nos. 1388-2010. Leclercq, col. 935; Brucker, 518.

³⁸ *Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der K. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, XIIter Band. *Verzeichniss der Lateinischen Handschriften*. Berlin, 1893. In the Preface, Rose says that most of the Jesuit MSS are on parchment, and are of the eighth to the thirteenth century.

5. WHO GOT THE MONEY?

A year and a day after the date set for the opening of the auction sale of the library, the four new administrators of the College turned in their *Bref Etat pour compter de la Vente des Livres, Médailles et autres Curiosités du Collège Louis-le-Grand*. It puts down the total receipts from the sale as 121,729 livres, 2 sols. It presents an account of disbursements against this sum received, which is a curious blend of minute detail and bland reticence. The detail goes down to such items as 2 livres, 8 sols for some pieces of tin-plate on which to set up candles "to light up the sale." The quiet reticence is about what happened to the bulk of the money received, after it had been turned over to one of the administrators, the Abbé Fourneau, who was acting as headmaster of the College.

The total expenses connected with the sale amounted to 19,730 livres, 18 sols, 3 deniers, to which the administrators tacked on 455 livres they had paid to themselves, and 300 livres for 25 days of work in having an inventory made of the portable goods of fifteen other colleges: the whole adding up to more than 20 per cent of the gross proceeds.

The largest single item in the expense sheet is 10,327 livres, 13 sols, paid to the booksellers, Saugrain and Leclerc, who published the three catalogues of the sale. The next largest expense was for the "*procès-verbal de vente*," the complete official account of the sale, which listed 11,187 separate transactions in the sale of the books and museum pieces, all properly entered on stamped and tax-paid forms. This is set down as costing 4,632 livres; but it is noted that half of this sum is to go to the auctioneers (*huissiers priseurs*), in addition to the daily fee of seven livres paid to the auctioneer-in-chief, which brought him 826 livres for the 118 days, plus commissions of 1,525 livres, 8 sols, 9 deniers, to be divided amongst the five assistant auctioneers, and another 172 livres, 10 sols apiece to a crier and a clerk of record.

Then the Abbé Grimod, who had charge of the sale of the coins and curios, received a commission of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the proceeds of that sale, which netted him 801 livres, 6 sols, 6 deniers. Workmen of various sorts, bailiffs, a glazier, a carpenter, porters, and carters, were paid 1,142 livres, 4 sols.

All this is obviously connected with the sale itself. But there is a promising entry of pay for "a number of days put in by the auctioneer in making up several large lists of books allotted to Messieurs Fourneau and Capronnier and others, in collecting

sums owed, and various other unusual tasks, which are valued at . . ." And then, oddly enough, no sum is set down against this item. It is a provoking entry. What does it mean? Was it to have been an added rake-off for the auctioneer? Why did he not get it? Was he just forgotten? Or did he forfeit his *pourboire* in some way? There is no knowing the answer.

Finally, there was the matter of the books which the *Parlement* had graciously allowed the Abbé Fourneau to keep for his new college, but which he had to acquire by the formality of bidding them in at the sale. We do not know from this summary account anything about which books he chose, or how many, or at what prices he was given them. But the total is set down against the receipts as 17,449 livres, 8 sols.³⁹

When all these expenses and deductions and commissions had been taken care of, 81,432 livres were turned over, in five installments, to the Abbé Fourneau. The cost of sacking the silver, and the cab fares for carrying the money to him, came to 36 livres, 13 sols. Then the administrators sat down to make out their balance sheet. They added up the various expenses, the value of the books allotted to the Abbé Fourneau, the money actually turned over to him, and arrived at a total of 118,794 livres, 5 sols, 3 deniers. But their addition was badly done, as Franklin points out. The correct total should be 119,367 livres, 6 sols, 3 deniers, or the tidy little sum of 573 livres, 1 sol more than the administrators made it.

They carefully subtracted their false total of disbursements from the total receipts of the sale, and set down the balance as 2,934 livres, 16 sols, 9 deniers, whereas in reality the true balance was only 2,361 livres, 15 sols, 9 deniers. Out of their supposed balance, they then turned over to the Abbé Fourneau, on February 18, 1765, the additional sum of 2,605 livres, or 243 livres, 4 sols, 3 deniers more than they actually had, and still claimed to have cash in hand amounting to 329 livres, 16 sols, 9 deniers: *quod est absurdum*.

Any attempt to explain this sort of financial statement would have to be based on conjecture. We have evidence enough that there was reckless juggling with the inventory and the sale cata-

³⁹ In his monograph of 1865, Franklin had given the price of the Abbé Fourneau's books as 18,109 livres, 8 sols, a figure which he had copied from the *Recueil de toutes les délibérations prises par le bureau d'administration du Collège Louis-le-Grand*, 528. This is 1,360 livres more than the figure he later copied from another MS, *Etat des livres adjugés à Monsieur l'Abbé Fourneau*, one of the many bewildering discrepancies in the official accounts of the sale.

logue of the library. Was there further juggling with the proceeds of the sale? Perhaps the fantastic entry, never completed, for the special services of the auctioneer inclines one to think that there may have been. But even if we give the administrators the benefit of the doubt, and charitably suppose that they were entirely honest, we are at least forced to conclude that they were badly muddled.

That can mean no more than that they were incompetent accountants. But what meaning must we attach to the fact that such a muddled financial statement could be handed into the highest court in France, the *Grande Chambre* of the *Paris Parlement*, and be accepted as it stood? To put it as mildly as possible, that fact seems to imply that there was a confident recklessness all round in dealing with the property of the Jesuits. The Jesuits would soon be legally dead; their enemies could do pretty much as they pleased with the Jesuit library; any financial accounting was a formality, and nothing more; if such an accounting were scrutinized at all, it would be by friendly eyes. It is hard to see any other meaning in the facts.⁴⁰

In addition to this jumbling of the financial account itself, it has already been noted that there are discrepancies in the source evidence as to what were the gross proceeds of the sale. It is impossible to disentangle that snarl. Therefore in what little more we have to say in answer to the question: Who got the money? we may as well stick to the official figures of the final accounting. Taking the gross proceeds of the sale of the library, and the disbursements set down in the final balance sheet, as they stand, we find that there was turned over to the Abbé Fourneau the net proceeds of 84,037 livres in hard cash. The question, therefore, practically narrows down to: Who got this sum of money?

After the Jesuits had their colleges confiscated, and their revenues taken from them, but were not yet driven out of their houses, they wanted to know from the *Parlement* how they were going to live. The answer came within a week. An *Arrêt* of April 30, 1762, ordered the Paris sequestrator to pay over to the procurator of the Professed House 3,000 livres, and to the procurators of the College and the Novitiate 1,500 livres each. Did the sequestrator pay those 6,000 livres out of the 84,037

⁴⁰ It was not unnatural that this sort of recklessness should characterize most of the handling of the confiscated Jesuit properties everywhere. There is plenty of evidence of it in the Jesuit Archives. Victor Van Tricht, S. J., has studied some parallel instances in "Du Sort des Bibliothèques de la Compagnie dans les Pays-Bas," in *La Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus et le P. Augustin de Backer*, Louvain, 1876, 243-257.

livres net proceeds of the sale? We know, moreover, that the Prince de Tingry, as grandson and heir of de Harlay, held a judgment of the court for 25,000 livres against the receipts of the sale. It is probable that de Tingry had influence enough to see that the judgment was paid. But supposing that both of these claims were paid, who got the remaining 53,037 livres?

Father Pierre Gatin, the Jesuit procurator of the Mission of Martinique, was watching the sale carefully, since it was he who had been given the task of paying off the debts incurred by Father Lavalette. On March 10, 1765, three weeks after the administrators had made their last payment (the impossible one) to the Abbé Fourneau, Father Gatin wrote thus to the General, Father Ricci:

Your Paternity would like to know how much is still owing to each creditor, and how much has been paid; but I can give you no proper statement of the affair. For there is no question now of the creditors, but only of *administrators, bailiffs, guardians*, etc. The costs of court are becoming immense. . . . Blood-suckers of this sort multiply with what they feed upon. From the time that we were deprived of the use and possession of our property, the creditors have not received so much as one farthing.⁴¹

The claims of the editors of the Jesuits were the origin of all the legal proceedings against the Jesuits, the basis of the order of the *Parlement* sequestering Jesuit properties, and the chief ground alleged by the *Parlement* for selling the Jesuit library. But there is not a word about these creditors in the final accounting of the sale. Whoever got the money, it is certain that it was not the creditors of the Jesuits.

A NOTE ON PRICES AND VALUES

**Livres, sols, and deniers* are baffling words to many readers. Moreover, even when one knows the nominal value of the monetary units represented by those names, there is still left the difficult question of their real value, their purchasing power in some equivalents that we can compare with present-day prices and values. Hence this note may be of practical service in helping us to understand the proceeds of the sale.

⁴¹ "Sciret Pas Va quid cuiquam debitum fuit, quid cuique solutum, negotii tamen verum statum non haberet. Neque enim jam creditorum sed *Procuratorum, apparitorum, custodum*, etc. res agitur. Crescunt in immensum forenses impensae. . . . Quo plures invadent eo plures exurgent ejusmodi hirudines. Ex quo bonis interdicti et spoliati fuimus, ne teruncium quidem acceperunt creditores." From the Jesuit Archives, quoted by Rochemonteix, 246, n. 3.

The livre links up with the Latin *libra*, a pound, both as a weight (*livre de poids*) and as a monetary unit, and with the English pound sterling. One may still see in the English £—s—d symbols allied to the livres, sols, deniers, of French money. Even the ratio of the two is the same: 20 shillings to the pound, 12 pence to the shilling; and 20 sols to the livre, 12 deniers to the sou or sol.

There had been several sorts of monetary livres: an ancient gold livre dating back to the Merovingians and to Constantine, which was once equal to 288 silver deniers (the Latin *denarius*); and various silver livres. But from Capetian times the silver livre most widely in use was that originally issued by the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours. This was the origin of the monetary unit *livre tournois*. The royal coinage was *monnaie paris*, with 15 deniers to the sol, instead of 12 deniers to the sol *tournois*; which meant that the *livre paris* was worth one and a quarter *livres tournois*. But the *livre paris* was abolished in 1667, leaving the *livre tournois* the sole unit of coinage.⁴²

The livres mentioned throughout this paper are *livres tournois*, silver coins roughly equal to the later silver franc, or about twenty cents in U. S. coinage, and divided into twenty sols, roughly equal to our cents. But to know this tells us only the less important half of the story. What was the buying power of the *livre tournois*?

That buying power varied with changing circumstances. Thus, if we test it against the price of bread, the great staple of French food, we find it varying with good and bad harvests. The excessive rains of 1725, for example, brought the price of bread from three sous a pound to eight sous a pound within six months.⁴³ But there was one circumstance that affected the buying power of French money pretty steadily all through the eighteenth century; and that was the growing scarcity of hard money.⁴⁴ The money in circulation fell from 130 livres per capita in 1720 to 54 livres per capita in 1740; it was further diminished through the effects of the Seven Years' War until, on the eve of the Revolution, it stood at 41 livres per capita.⁴⁵

In the ordinary balance, when money gets scarce its buying power

⁴² St. Louis IX (1226-1270) made the *sou* a real coin, called a *gros*, and brought back a gold coinage, the unit of which was called by his name, *louis*, and was normally worth 20 francs or *livres tournois*. The name of *franc* was in use from mediaeval times, but it began to supplant the *livre* legally only in 1795, when it was decreed that 80 francs equalled 81 livres. Livres, however, continued in use until 1834, when they were withdrawn from circulation. There had also been a silver *écu*, worth three livres, and a gold *écu*, or crown, which varied greatly in value according to its weight and fineness, but which after 1600 equalled half a *louis*, or about 10-12 livres.

⁴³ Gaxotte, *Louis XV and His Times*, May's translation, 78. The whole of Chapter V has much data about finance.

⁴⁴ Law's wildcat schemes of 1716-1720 produced plenty of paper credits which pretended to take the place of money. For John Law, the Scotch financier (1671-1729), see L. A. Thiers, *Law et Son Système des Finances*, Paris, 1826; an English translation, New York, 1859.

⁴⁵ Alexander Del Mar, *A History of the Monetary Systems of France and Other European States*, New York, 1903, 466.

increases, and prices come down. Yet it is true that the balance between money and goods is disturbed by such an event as the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) which cost France Canada, and brought about a scarcity of goods almost equal to the scarcity of money. Prices began to rise after 1764. Still, in spite of some fluctuations, the prices of food, clothing, and housing, and the level of wages, continued in general much lower in eighteenth-century France than in England.⁴⁶

To take a few illustrations, consider these scattered facts: in the decade 1750-1760, engineers-in-chief in the Corporation of Roads and Bridges were paid 2,400 livres a year;⁴⁷ in 1777, field laborers in the Touraine got a wage of 10 sous a day and their bread and wine, but in Normandy they got 15 sous a day most of the year, and 24 sous in harvest time;⁴⁸ in 1775, in Morvan, the high country near Dijon, a horse could be bought for two *louis*, about 48 livres, and an ox for six livres.⁴⁹ Coming more nearly to the immediate time and circumstances of the sale of the Jesuit library, the two official bailiffs, Samson and Lancial, installed in charge of the library, each got two livres a day, and a helper, Marion, got 30 sous a day;⁵⁰ and it will be remembered that in August 1762, the pension offered the Jesuits out of their confiscated property was 20 sous a day.⁵¹

These are slight samplings from which to venture a conclusion about the relation between money and goods in 1764; but they are characteristic enough to serve our immediate purpose. Even on the basis of these samplings, it is not rash to point out that when Meermann paid fifteen livres for a manuscript from the Jesuit library, he was paying the equivalent of ten days' wages of the crier at the sale of the library, a week's wages of one of the bailiffs in charge of the library, or two days' wages of one of the civil engineers who planned roads and built bridges. Would it be rash to estimate that the buying power of a livre in 1764 was at least equal to that of a dollar in the United States in 1941? On a comparison of wages, the livre might even be considered equivalent to two dollars, or some ten times its face value. But the test of wages is not a safe test, since it must be checked against that mystery which we call the "standard of living." Wages in France in 1764 were balanced chiefly against food and clothing and shelter; wages in the United States today must also include

⁴⁶ James E. Thorold-Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, London, 1903, Chapter XIV, especially 404-410.

⁴⁷ Gaxotte, 296.

⁴⁸ Arthur Young, *Travels during the Years 1787-1788-1789*, London, 1794, I, 144.

⁴⁹ Letter of the Chevalier d'Eon to the Marquis de Prunevaux, in J. Buchan Telfer, *The Strange Career of the Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont*, London, 1885, 229.

⁵⁰ Franklin, II, 263, from the MS of the final accounting of proceeds of the sale of the library by the four administrators of the College.

⁵¹ The *Parlement* of Grenoble made the pension 30 sous a day; but the *Parlement* of Languedoc cut it down to 12 sous a day. Crétineau-Joly, V, 218, n. 2.

the power to purchase telephone service, theatre and movie and baseball tickets, a radio, and an automobile.

At any rate, these brief considerations may throw some light on the meaning of livres, sols, and deniers in the prices got at the sale of the Jesuit library of the Collège Louis-le-Grand. It will be a convenience to most readers, and perhaps not too wild an error, to translate mentally livres into dollars and sols into five-cent pieces.

W. KANE, S. J.

Librarian
Loyola University

L'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville

Les faits d'armes de Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville sont célèbres. Il n'en est pas ainsi de son enfance, de son adolescence et de sa jeunesse, qui demeurent mal connues. Déterminer, sur ce point, les résultats des recherches historiques, parmi ces résultats, faire la part des faits établis et des hypothèses, et parmi ces hypothèses, distinguer celles qui sont admissibles de celles qui le sont moins ou qui ne le sont pas, tel est le but de cet article. Nous commençons par une esquisse de la vie de Charles Le Moyne, le père du marin canadien; les étapes de cette vie, nous semble-t-il, n'aident pas peu à faire connaître la famille et le milieu social où naquit Iberville. Nous nous arrêterons aux environs de 1686: cette date est un tournant dans l'histoire de Pierre Le Moyne. Sa jeunesse est finie, avec la première expédition à la baie d'Hudson, ses campagnes commencent. Elles dureront vingt ans, le nombre d'années qui lui reste à vivre.

1. CHARLES LE MOYNE

On a fait remonter la famille de Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville à Guillaume le Conquérant.¹ Voilà qui est, à notre avis, se donner beaucoup de peine, et sans grande utilité. Au vrai, le caractère de la famille Le Moyne est tout autre: ce qui constitue l'un de ses traits essentiels c'est précisément son ascension rapide.

Le père de d'Iberville, Charles Le Moyne, arriva en Nouvelle-France, sans blason ni particule, en 1641. Il avait quinze ans.² Il venait de cette ville de Dieppe qui devait jouer un rôle si important dans le développement de la colonie et dont, fait significatif, l'une des rues devait recevoir, en 1647, le nom de Rue de la Pelleterie.³ A peine sorti de l'hôtellerie paternelle,⁴ il ne trouvait au pays où il arrivait sans le sou et presque sans nippes, que son oncle, Adrien Duchesne, chirurgien à "l'habitation de

¹ Cf. L. Goujeon, "Le chevalier d'Iberville," *Revue Canadienne*, XXV, 1889, 32; Frédéric de Kastner, *Héros de la Nouvelle France, Le Moyne d'Iberville*, Québec, 1902, 11.

² Il avait été baptisé le 2 août 1626 en l'église Saint-Rémy de Dieppe; il était fils de Pierre Le Moyne et de Judith Duchesne, E. M. Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française au Canada*, 3 vols., Villemarie, 1855-1856, II, 54.

³ Faillon, II, 55.

⁴ En 1633, ses parents s'établirent dans la paroisse Saint-Jacques (Dieppe), où se trouvaient nombre de marins; ils y tinrent hôtellerie, Faillon, II, 54.

Québec," sur l'invitation de qui, il avait, dit-on, entrepris le voyage.⁵

En bon Normand,⁶ il ne fut pas long à se débrouiller avec l'adresse qui devait si bien le servir tout le long de sa vie. Il se mit aussitôt au service des Pères Jésuites dans les missions huronnes, et resta dans cet emploi durant quatre ans. Le 26 octobre 1645, il en sortait avec vingt écus en poche et des vêtements "honnêtes";⁷ mais, faits plus importants, il avait trouvé là l'occasion de se former à la vie dure, de connaître les sauvages et surtout d'apprendre leurs langues: aussi, lorsqu'après avoir passé l'hiver de 1645 aux Trois-Rivières⁸ en qualité de soldat et d'interprète, il arriva à Ville-Marie au printemps de 1645, la ville naissante accueillit-elle sa venue avec joie.

"Parlons un peu," écrit M. Dollier de Casson, "d'un appelé M. Lemoine qui fut envoyé ici pour servir d'interprète à l'égard les Iroquois qu'on y voyoit toujours sans les bien entendre, à cause que l'on avoit pas d'assez bons interprètes"; ce fut d'ailleurs, au dire du Sulpicien, "le principal sujet qui émut M. de Montmagny à nous l'envoyer."⁹ Mais il ne devait pas tarder à rendre des services d'une bien plus grande importance. Dès le printemps suivant, il commença à se distinguer contre les Iroquois.¹⁰ En 1651, il sauva Mlle. Mance au cours d'un raid de ces sauvages qui la menaçaient elle et son hôpital. Chargé par quarante guerriers, il se tira indemne de l'action, non sans qu'une balle eût toutefois traversé son bonnet;¹¹ cet acte d'audace lui valut, la même année, le poste de garde-magasin.¹²

⁵ C. de la Roncière, *Une épopée canadienne*, Paris, 1930, 10; F. de Kastner, *Héros de la Nouvelle France, Le Moyne d'Iberville*, 12.

⁶ On sait que les Normands avaient mauvaise presse, à cause de leur habilité naturelle. "Le Catéchisme d'un Normand qui quitte son pays pour venir s'établir en Bretagne" contient des passages comme celui-ci: "D. Qui est celui que l'on doit appeler Normand? R. C'est celui qui fait profession de s'enrichir à droite et à gauche, et de prendre à toutes mains. — D. Quelles sont les vertus nécessaires à un Normand et sans lesquelles il dérogerait à sa profession? R. Il y en a cinq principales. — D. Qui sont-elles? R. C'est d'être: premièrement traître, secondement gourmand, troisièmement pillard, quatrièmement flatteur, cinquièmement menteur." Cité dans "Bretons et Normands," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (BRH), XXXVIII, 1932, 697-698.

⁷ C. H. Laverdière et H. R. Casgrain, eds., *Le Journal des Jésuites*, Québec, 1871, 9-10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹ F. Dollier de Casson, "Histoire du Montréal," dans *Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montréal*, Montréal, 1869, 60.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

¹² A. Jodoin et J. L. Vincent, *Histoire de Longueuil et de la famille de Longueuil*, Montréal, 1889, 12; J. Marmette, *Les Machabées de la Nouvelle-France*, Québec, 1870, 36; [F. Daniel], *Nos gloires nationales*, Montréal, 1867, 149.

En même temps, il commença à prendre une importance de plus en plus grande dans la colonie montréalaise; sa signature, à cette époque, se rencontre de plus en plus fréquemment dans les actes des tabellions de Ville-Marie.¹³ En 1648, un acte du notaire Jean de Saint-Père exhibe la griffe de *Challe Moine*¹⁴ (évidemment, il signe son nom comme on le prononçait), se qui fait penser aux invraisemblables tours de force orthographiques dont Iberville fleurira plus tard ses lettres. En 1652, le *Journal des Jésuites* le donne pour "commis de Montréal."¹⁵ C'était aussi l'époque où il s'essayait à la diplomatie indienne et réussissait, par l'intermédiaire d'Anontaha—"le plus brave de tous" les Hurons¹⁶—à "sauver le pays . . . nommément les Trois-Rivières qu'on apprenoit être en grand danger" par suite de la menace iroquoise.¹⁷

Le 10 décembre 1653, il fit promesse de mariage à une jeune fille—il faudrait plutôt dire une enfant, elle avait treize ans¹⁸—connue sous le nom de Catherine Primot, mais qui s'appelait en réalité Catherine Thierry. Elle était, en effet, fille de Guillaume Thierry et d'Élisabeth Messier; née à Saint-Denis-le-Petit, bourg du diocèse de Rouen, elle avait été, en très bas âge, adoptée¹⁹ par son oncle et sa tante Antoine Primot²⁰ et Martine Messier et amenée par eux en Nouvelle-France, en 1642, alors qu'elle avait un peu plus d'un an.²¹ Le mariage, célébré par le P. Claude Pijart, Jésuite, eut lieu le 28 mai 1654, en l'église Notre-Dame de Montréal.²² À cette époque, Charles Le Moyne n'avait encore à offrir à sa jeune femme "qu'une maison de quarante pieds sur vingt-quatre." Nous ne croyons pas que l'on puisse ajouter, comme fait

¹³ Cf. E. Z. Massicotte, "Les trois premiers tabellions de Montréal," *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, série III, t. IX, 1913, section 1, 192, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 202, 203.

¹⁴ C'était le 2 mai 1648, E. Z. Massicotte, *ibid.*, 192.

¹⁵ *Journal des Jésuites*, 19 avril 1652, 166.

¹⁶ Dollier de Casson, "Histoire du Montréal," 94.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹⁸ Le recensement de 1666-1667 porte qu'elle était née en 1640, cf. E. Z. Massicotte, "Les colons de Montréal de 1642 à 1667," *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, série III, t. VII, 1913, section 1, 13.

¹⁹ Cette adoption ne fut légalisée qu'en 1660. A cette date, les Primots, de crainte que, faute de déclaration juridique, on ne vit contester ses droits d'héritage, firent dresser un acte d'adoption devant M^e Basset, le 20 mai 1660; cf. E. Z. Massicotte, *loc. cit.*, 13, et Faillon, II, 207.

²⁰ Mentionné comme ayant une terre, dans les actes de Maisonneuve, le 18 novembre 1650; E. Z. Massicotte, *loc. cit.*, 13.

²¹ Faillon, II, 204-206.

²² L'acte de mariage est reproduit dans Jodoin et Vincent, *Histoire de Longueuil*, 14.

M. Massicotte, qu'il était déjà "le plus riche marchand de la ville"; c'était encore trop tôt.²³

Cependant son patrimoine ne devait pas tarder à s'arrondir. Le 23 juillet suivant, M. de Maisonneuve lui concéda 90 arpents de terre à la Pointe-Saint-Charles "proche la Grande Anse," et y ajoutait un arpent "dans l'enclos de la ville, proche l'hôpital sur lequel il fait bâtir maison."²⁴ La première concession paraît à M. Faillon "sans exemple dans l'île de Montréal."²⁵ Mais il faut se rappeler que, de ces quatre-vingt-dix arpents, Charles Le Moyne devait en donner jouissance de quarante-cinq à ses beaux-parents.²⁶ La deuxième concession nous importe davantage: c'est là que devait naître Iberville. Le terrain mesurait 162 pieds sur la rue Saint-Paul et 198 sur la rue Saint-Joseph, et avoisinait la chapelle récemment construite auprès de l'église Notre-Dame.²⁷

Les Iroquois continuaient toujours leurs raids. "Incessamment nous les avions sur les bras et il n'y a pas de mois en cet été (1650-1651) où notre livre des morts ne soit marqué en lettre rouge par la main des Iroquois."²⁸ Aussi Charles Le Moyne continuait-il à les combattre.²⁹ Il se serait même joint, avec Pierre Picoté de Belestre, à l'expédition de Dollard, en 1660, si le héros du Long-Sault avait consenti à remettre son départ après les semailles.³⁰

En cette même année nous voyons Charles Le Moyne entrer en relations avec nul autre que Médard Chouart, mieux connu sous le nom de Des Groseillers.³¹ Naturellement, il s'agissait de

²³ E. Z. Massicotte, "Le prétendu château de Maisonneuve," BRH, XLV, 1939, 73.

²⁴ *Id.*, "Les premières concessions de terres à Montréal, sous M. de Maisonneuve," BRH, XXXIV, 1928, 402.

²⁵ Faillon, II, 406.

²⁶ Massicotte, "Les premières concessions," BRH, XXXIV, 1928, 402.

²⁷ *Id.*, "Où est né d'Iberville," *ibid.*, 234.

²⁸ Dollier de Casson, "Histoire du Montréal," 76.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 109.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 143.

³¹ Il est évident que le soi-disant "sieur des Groseillers" était un faux noble. Un acte du 19 mai 1659, qu'il signe "Medar Chouart," le mentionne sous le nom de "Medar Chouart dict des groseillers," Chicago Historical Society, Schmidt Collection, vol. I, 189. Puis le "dict" disparaît, ce qui lui donne un air de noblesse. Dans une pièce datée du 7 décembre 1661, on voit "Medard Chouart S^r desgroseillers," *ibid.*, Gunther Collection. Un document du 15 mai 1662 porte la même mention, *ibid.*, Schmidt Collection, I, 33. Dans les *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France*, 6 vols., Québec, 1885-1891, I, 457, le "dict" n'apparaît qu'une fois. En deux endroits, on lit simplement "Medard Chouart," I, 493, 511. Ailleurs, on y a ajouté "Desgroyzellers" ou "Desgroisellers," I, 247, 273, 276, II, 184, 907. Ce n'est pas là un fait isolé. Le surnom se muait sans peine en titre de noblesse. Un procédé analogue est le passage du "dit" au "de"; le cas de François Dumont dit Montigny, dont le nom devint, avec le temps, Dumont de Montigny illustre bien ce procédé, cf. J. Delanglez, "A Louisiana Poet-Historian, Dumont dit Montigny," in *MID-AMERICA*, XIX, 1937, 32, note 7.

la traite du castor. Le célèbre coureur de bois était redescendu au Canada, au printemps de 1660, après avoir passé deux ans au pays des grands lacs, d'où il avait ramené un convoi de deux cent mille livres de fourrures. Le 22 juillet, ils s'associent tous deux, l'aventurier et le marchand montréalais, "pour tout généralement le castor gras et veule qu'ils traiteront aux Sauvages . . . pour . . . la traite étant finie, partager chacun par moitié après avoir préalablement frayé les marchandises qui auront été par eux achetées."³² C'est la première fois que l'on voit le nom de Charles Le Moyne mêlé au commerce du castor, qui était alors, et devait longtemps rester, le seul moyen de faire rapidement fortune en Nouvelle-France. Il faut ajouter que les affaires de Charles Le Moyne devenaient de jour en jour plus florissantes. Il était déjà associé avec Jacques Le Ber, son beau-frère, avec qui il reçut en concession, le 22 août 1660, un terrain de soixante-seize pieds sur soixante "proche l'hôpital Saint-Joseph," sur lequel ils firent bâtir une maison à frais communs.³³ Les affaires allaient si bien qu'en 1661, année de la naissance d'Iberville, la maison de Le Moyne avait grand air au point qu'elle "surpassoit toutes les austres" maisons de Montréal qui, pourtant, "quoy que en petit nombre ne laissaient pas destre belles spacieuses et agréables."³⁴ Le Moyne devenait un notable. Son élection à la charge de marguillier de Notre-Dame, qui eut lieu le 21 novembre 1661, suffirait à elle seule à illustrer ce fait.³⁵ Le 18 octobre 1663, et non pas pas en 1664, comme on l'a répété par erreur,³⁶ M. de Mézy, d'accord avec Mgr de Laval, le nomma procureur de Sa Majesté "en la seneschaussée de l'Isle de Montréal et lieux en dependans."³⁷

En 1664, comme le commerce de Charles Le Moyne et de Jacques Le Ber ne cessait de progresser, les deux associés devinrent, le 3 septembre, propriétaires d'un magasin à Québec qu'ils acquirent au prix de 500 livres tournois, "payé en castor gras, loyal et marchand."³⁸ Au mois de janvier précédent, Le Moyne avait allongé sa maison de 23 pieds, grâce à la concession que lui avait faite M. de Maisonneuve d'un "morceau de terre joignant

³² E. Z. Massicotte, "Charles Le Moyne et Médard Chouart," BRH, XX, 1914, 188.

³³ *Id.*, "Les premières concessions de terres à Montréal, sous M. de Maisonneuve," BRH, XXXIV, 1928, 461.

³⁴ Cité par E. Z. Massicotte, "Comment expliquer cela?" BRH, XLIV, 1938, 151.

³⁵ "Quittance de Charles Le Moyne," BRH, XXXVI, 1930, 434.

³⁶ L. Le Jeune, *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville*, Ottawa, 1937, 13.

³⁷ *Jugements et délibérations*, I, 34.

³⁸ P. Gagnon, "Une vieille famille canadienne," BRH, XVII, 1911, 281.

l'emplacement qu'il possède déjà."³⁹ Le 2 mars suivant, par suite d'une ordonnance du gouverneur de Montréal prescrivant aux habitants d'élire "cinq personnes notables qui auront le pouvoir de juger et régler toutes matières concernant la police nécessaire pour le bien de cette habitation," Charles Le Moyne était désigné à ce poste en compagnie de Louis Prudhomme, Gabriel Sel, sieur du Clos, Jacques Picot, dit Labrie et Jean Leduc.⁴⁰

Cependant une aventure qui eût pu tourner au tragique l'attendait. L'année suivante, en juillet, il fut pris par un parti d'Iroquois, alors qu'il était allé à la chasse à l'île Sainte-Thérèse. A Montréal on craignit qu'il ne fût mis à mort par les sauvages, qui avaient déjà tout tenté pour s'emparer de lui. Mais d'habiles menaces qu'il fit au bon moment inspirèrent aux Iroquois la crainte des représailles que pouvaient exercer les compagnies de soldats français qui, leur disait Le Moyne, débarquaient justement à Québec. Cela le sauva du poteau.⁴¹

On le retrouve ensuite dans l'expédition que M. de Courcelle dirigea contre les Agniers du 9 janvier au 6 mars 1666.⁴² A cette occasion, Le Moyne renforça les troupes du gouverneur d'un détachement de soixante-dix Montréalais qu'il commandait: le "général" fit à ces troupes "l'honneur de leur donner la tête en allant et la queue au retour . . . Aussi M. le gouverneur se reposait beaucoup sur eux tous, il leur témoignait une confiance particulière et les caressait grandement, il les appeloit *ses capots bleus*, comme s'il les eût voulu nommer *les enfants de sa droite*."⁴³

Dans l'expédition plus considérable que M. de Tracy entreprit la même année, contre les mêmes Iroquois, du 14 septembre au 5 novembre,⁴⁴ les "Montréalais" eurent le même "honneur"; ils étaient au nombre de 110 et combattirent sous les ordres de Le Moyne, secondé par Pierre Picoté de Belestre.⁴⁵ Cette dernière campagne, au dire de M. Dollier de Casson, terrorisa les Iroquois à tel point "que chaque arbre leur paroissoit un François et qu'ils ne savoient où se mettre."⁴⁶

³⁹ E. Z. Massicotte, "Les premières concessions," BRH, XXXIV, 1928, 465.

⁴⁰ E. Z. Massicotte, *Montréal sous le régime français, répertoire des arrêts, édits, mandements, ordonnances et règlements conservés dans les archives du Palais de justice à Montréal, 1640-1670*, Montréal, 1919, 4.

⁴¹ Dollier de Casson, "Histoire du Montréal," 176-177.

⁴² *Journal des Jésuites*, 340, 342.

⁴³ Dollier de Casson, "Histoire du Montréal," 180.

⁴⁴ *Journal des Jésuites*, 350-351.

⁴⁵ Dollier de Casson, "Histoire du Montréal," 180-181.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 184.

Le 29 octobre 1667, l'intendant Talon demandait à Colbert de faire gratifier de lettres de noblesse Charles Le Moyne ainsi que les sieurs Godefroy, Denys et Amyot, "quatre habitants de ce pays des plus considérables et po. leur naissance et pour leur zelle au service de sa Ma^{te}."⁴⁷ En mars 1668, le roi anoblit notre Normand, désormais sieur de Longueuil, et lui conféra ainsi qu'à "ses enfants postérité et lignée" le titre d'écuyers et "tous honneurs et prérogatives, prééminences, autorités, privilèges, franchises, exemptions, immunités dont jouissent et ont accoutumé de jouir et user les autres Nobles de notre Royaume."⁴⁸ À ce propos, on a écrit que lorsque les lettres de noblesse furent expédiées au Canada, les quatre destinataires ne surent où les faire enregistrer, et que, comme Louis XIV abolit, en 1669, les titres non encore enregistrés, ces nouveaux nobles perdirent automatiquement les leurs.⁴⁹ Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que, le 10 novembre 1670, Talon demanda que les lettres fussent enregistrées au Conseil Souverain de Québec ou dans les cours souveraines de France, sans que les nouveaux nobles eussent à les présenter en personne.⁵⁰ Quoi qu'il en soit, Charles Le Moyne ne paraît pas avoir perdu son titre: trois ans plus tard, en 1673, Frontenac écrivait, à propos du sieur de Longueuil, que le roi l'avait déjà anobli "pour les services qu'il a rendus depuis trente ans dans le pays et de son épée et de son esprit."⁵¹

Il devait bientôt recevoir plusieurs concessions. Il possédait déjà, en plus des terres que lui avait données Maisonneuve en 1654, cinquante arpents de front sur cent de profondeur, qu'il avait achetés de Louis de Lauzon de la Citière en 1657, auxquels étaient venus s'ajouter, en 1664, l'île Sainte-Hélène et l'Islet Rond.⁵² En 1672, il reçut encore les terres qui s'étendent de Varennes à Laprairie.⁵³ Le 29 septembre, 1673, il obtint la seigneurie de Châteaugay.⁵⁴ Le tout fut couronné, en 1676, par la réunion, effectuée par Duchesneau, de toutes ces terres dans le seul fief de

⁴⁷ Talon à Colbert, 29 octobre 1667, Archives des Colonies (AC), C 11A, 2:324, publiée dans le *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1930-1931* (RAPQ), 1931, 88.

⁴⁸ Ce document est reproduit en entier dans Jodoin et Vincent, *Histoire de Longueuil*, 88.

⁴⁹ P[ierre]-G[eorges] R[oy], "Mathieu Amyot Villeneuve," BRH, XXV, 1919, 326-327.

⁵⁰ "Mémoire de Talon sur le Canada," 10 novembre 1670, AC, C 11A, 3:110, RAPQ, 1931, 138-139.

⁵¹ Frontenac à Colbert, RAPQ, 1927, 43.

⁵² Jodoin et Vincent, *Histoire de Longueuil*, 20, 629.

⁵³ L'acte de concession, du 3 novembre 1672, est reproduit dans Jodoin et Vincent, 41-42.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

Longueuil "avec tous droits de seigneurie et justice haute moyenne et basse."⁵⁵

En 1673, Frontenac demandait qu'on créât "une charge de grand prévôt qui pourrait avoir le soin de courir et d'attraper tous ces fripons (coureurs de bois);" il proposa le nom du "sieur Lemoyne, qui est un homme très capable de cet emploi." Il est vrai qu'en juillet, il avait accompagné le gouverneur à Cataracoui et que, grâce à sa connaissance parfaite des idiomes hurons-iroquois, il avait bien servi celui-ci auprès des sauvages: c'est ce qui explique l'éloge que Frontenac se mit en frais de lui décerner.⁵⁶ Cette confiance durait encore l'année suivante, alors que le gouverneur demandait qu'on attribuât les deux cents écus affectés à la charge de grand maître des eaux et forêts—qui lui paraissait "fort inutile"—à deux interprètes, dont Le Moyne, qui le dispenseraient désormais de "passer par les mains des 212 (les Jésuites) quand on a à traiter avec les sauvages."⁵⁷ Mais la protection de l'impulsif gouverneur ne dura pas. En 1681, nous le voyons exhaler sa mauvaise humeur contre ces pelés, ces galeux, Le Moyne et Le Ber, "devenus fameux négociants de traite depuis qu'ils sont liés d'intérêt avec M^r l'intendant." C'était surtout, on le comprendra, cette dernière circonstance qui rendait la faute si odieuse aux yeux de Frontenac qui, pour sa part ne se faisait pas scrupule de traiter tout comme ses administrés. Et il terminait comme s'il n'avait jamais eu vent de l'affaire: "L'on apprend que le sieur Le Moyne ci-dessus marqué demande la charge de prévôt; ce serait un nouveau protecteur des coureurs de bois."⁵⁸

Mais peu après Frontenac retournait en France, remplacé par La Barre. Celui-ci arrivait prévenu contre les protégés de son prédécesseur, et disposé à donner sa protection à ceux qui avaient perdu celle de l'ancien gouverneur.⁵⁹ Aussi le 10 octobre 1682, voit-on Charles Le Moyne assister à l'importante assemblée de notables que La Barre convoqua dans la maison des Pères Jésuites à Québec dans le but de se renseigner sur l'état de la Nouvelle-France.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Ce document, du 10 juillet 1676, est reproduit dans Jodoin et Vincent, 44-49.

⁵⁶ Frontenac à Colbert, 13 novembre 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 43.

⁵⁷ *Id.* à *id.*, 14 novembre 1674, *ibid.*, 76.

⁵⁸ "Mémoire et preuve de la cause du désordre des coureurs de bois, avec le moyen de les détruire," *ibid.*, 120-124.

⁵⁹ Cf. "Mémoire instructif de l'Etat des affaires de la Nouvelle France et de la conduite De Denonville depuis la campagne dernière de 1687," AC, C 11A, 10:65v.

⁶⁰ R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901, LXII, 156.

La même année, le gouverneur l'envoya demander réparation pour deux canots appartenant à Aubert de la Chesnaye par suite d'un malentendu durant l'hiver précédent. La Barre avait fait passer aux Iroquois l'ordre de piller les canots dont les conducteurs ne pourraient produire des congés de traite, et les conducteurs de ces deux canots avaient été dépouillés de leurs fourrures, n'ayant pu présenter de passeport régulier. À Le Moyne qui exigeait restitution, les Iroquois répondirent "qu'ils n'avaient point agi en jeunes gens puisqu'ils n'avaient rien pris que par ordre," et ils refusèrent de rendre quoi que ce fût. "Voilà," continue le narrateur, "le premier acheminement à la cruelle guerre que nous avons essuyée par la suite, qui a pensé faire abandonner la colonie."⁶¹ Cette mesure était excessivement imprudente, sans compter qu'elle visait à assurer le monopole des profits de la traite aux marchands influents protégés par le gouverneur. Ceux-ci eurent d'ailleurs à s'en repentir bientôt, car les Iroquois ne devaient pas tarder à négliger la distinction établie entre les coureurs de bois qui faisaient la traite par contrebande et les détenteurs de congés réguliers. C'est ainsi qu'à quatorze Français dûment munis de "congez et permissions de Monseigneur le Général," les Iroquois demandèrent ingénument, tout en les pillant, s'ils ne savaient pas que M. Le Moyne leur avait dit "de faire la guerre aux nations de ce pays" et que, s'ils rencontraient des Français, "de les piller, et s'ils se mettaient en deffense de les tuer."⁶² C'est ce qui fit dire à l'abbé de Belmont que la guerre qui s'ensuivit, en 1684, "fut particulièrement excitée par l'avarice des marchands."⁶³

Toutefois, ce fut grâce à l'intervention de Charles Le Moyne que cette peu glorieuse campagne ne se transforma pas en désastre complet. En effet, peu après son arrivée à l'Anse de la Famine, en juillet, M. de la Barre qui voyait sa petite armée fondre à vue d'oeil, envoya Le Moyne avec la mission d'amener les Iroquois à parlementer.⁶⁴ On réussit à conclure une paix déshonorante, qui était tout de même la paix. À ce propos, on a

⁶¹ Gédéon de Catalogne, "Relation de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre tant des Anglois que des Iroquois," *Mémoires de la société littéraire et historique de Québec*, troisième série, Québec, 1871, 1-2. Le même point de vue est exprimé dans le "Mémoire instructif . . .," de 1687, AC, C 11A, 10:66.

⁶² "Relation d'un voyage dans le pays des Isinois, par MM. Beauvais, Provost, des Rosiers," 28 mai 1684, dans P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris, 1873-1888, II, 338-344.

⁶³ "Histoire du Canada," *Collection de mémoires . . . de la société littéraire de Québec*, Québec, 1840, 17.

⁶⁴ Gédéon de Catalogne, "Recueil de ce qui s'est passé . . .," 3-5.

avancé que ce fut pour le récompenser de ce service que le gouverneur demanda pour Le Moyne le poste de gouverneur de Montréal.⁶⁵ C'est une erreur manifeste: cette demande avait été adressée au ministre l'année précédente dans une lettre datée du 3 novembre 1683.⁶⁶ Mais même si cette faveur lui avait été accordée, Le Moyne n'eût pas pu en profiter longtemps: arrivé malade à Montréal, au retour de l'expédition de 1684, il ne devait plus se remettre. Il mourut au cours de l'hiver suivant, entre le 30 janvier et le 6 février.⁶⁷

Le jeune Normand qui, quarante-quatre ans auparavant débarquait en si petit équipage, mourait avec un titre de noblesse et des biens-fonds évalués à 125,868 livres.⁶⁸ Il laissait des fils qui allaient s'illustrer du nord au sud de l'Amérique française, de la baie d'Hudson jusqu'aux Antilles.

2. PIERRE LE MOYNE

Le troisième et le plus célèbre des quatorze enfants de Charles Le Moyne, Pierre d'Iberville, fut baptisé à Ville-Marie, le 20 juillet 1661.¹ Le "Mémoire succinct" place cet événement en 1662.² Cette erreur tient, croyons-nous, à la date et à l'auteur du document.

Cette pièce fut écrite au moins huit ans après la mort du marin montréalais, comme l'indiquent les protestations qui s'y élèvent contre les procédures relatives à la succession du défunt. On y lit que ces contestations duraient depuis huit années, ce qui reporte la rédaction de la pièce en 1714 ou peu après.³ À cette distance, quoi de plus naturel que l'auteur se meprît et reculât cette date d'un an?

Mais quel auteur? Le P. Le Jeune croit que ce fut le frère d'Iberville, Joseph de Sérigny.⁴ Ce n'est pas sûr; ce n'est même

⁶⁵ C. de la Roncière, *Une épopée canadienne*, 24, Le Jeune, *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville*, 14.

⁶⁶ E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1855, IX, 206.

⁶⁷ Le 30 janvier, il fit son testament. Le 6 février, sa veuve déposa l'acte de garde noble de ses enfants mineurs à l'étude de Bénigne Basset. Les deux documents sont dans Jodoin et Vincent, 74-76.

⁶⁸ Cf. l'inventaire de la succession de Charles Le Moyne fait par le notaire Basset, en mars et avril 1685; résumé dans Jodoin et Vincent, 77-79.

¹ Une reproduction photographique de l'acte de baptême d'Iberville est publiée dans RAPQ, 1926, 96.

² Mémoire succinct de la naissance et des services de défunt Pierre Le Moyne, seigneur d'Iberville, Ardilliers, et autres lieux, chevalier de Saint-Louis, capitaine des vaisseaux du Roy," Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), 115-10:n. 1, reproduit dans L. Guérin, *Histoire maritime de la France*, 6 vols., Paris, 1851-1859, IV, 469-477.

³ *Ibid.*, 477.

⁴ Le Jeune, *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville*, 22.

pas probable. En réalité, Sérigny a fourni au dossier d'Iberville, dont le "Mémoire succinct" n'est qu'une partie, une autre pièce qui résume les services de la famille Le Moyne, et où Iberville tient la place d'honneur.⁵ Ce sont deux documents distincts qu'il ne faut pas confondre. D'autre part la critique interne du Mémoire apporte une conclusion différente. Les plaintes formulées au sujet des "chicanes sans fin," suivies de protestations contre "les procédures inouïes et injustes" qui frappèrent la veuve du marin portent à croire que si celle-ci ne rédigea pas de sa main le document, elle l'anima tout au moins de son inspiration.

Elle le fit présenter au ministre dans l'espoir qu'en lui rappelant les prouesses du héros, elle l'engagerait ainsi à rendre prompte justice aux siens.

Donc rédigé longtemps après la mort d'Iberville, et par sa veuve remariée depuis six ans,⁶ il est normal que le "Mémoire succinct" présente cette inexactitude. On y remarque également que la période de la vie du marin canadien qui s'étend de 1661 à 1683 n'est décrite que par des indications sommaires; au contraire, l'époque qui s'étend de 1683 à 1706 est traitée avec beaucoup plus de précision: c'est que, pour celle-ci, qui seule servait ses fins, l'auteur disposait de lettres et d'autres pièces citées à l'occasion; pour celle-là, en revanche, qui ne pouvait lui être que d'une mince utilité, elle n'avait guère que des souvenirs que tout conspirait à rendre vagues et lointains. Les lacunes que présente la première partie du "Mémoire succinct" ont permis aux historiens d'Iberville d'accumuler les conjectures, choses qui demeurent toujours très périlleuses, ainsi que l'indiquent maintes pages des biographies de M. Desmazures et de Mr. Reed.⁷ Mais avant de procéder à la critique de certaines de leurs affirmations, une question se présente au sujet du nom même d'Iberville:— d'où vient-il?

Ce qui est sûr c'est que ce nom est normand et que Pierre Le Moyne n'a pas été le seul à le porter; le Journal de Torcy parle en effet d'un seigneur d'Iberville qui fut envoyé résident à Genève

⁵ L. Guérin, *Histoire maritime*, IV, 469.

⁶ Le contrat de mariage entre le comte Louis de Béthune et Marie-Thérèse Pollet de la Combe Pocatière, veuve d'Iberville, fut passé le 29 octobre 1708. Cette pièce est reproduite par E. de Châtelineau, "Les beaux mariages d'une Canadienne," *Nova Francia*, VI, 1931, 168-175.

⁷ C. B. Reed, *The first great Canadian, the story of Pierre Le Moyne, sieur d'Iberville*, Chicago, 1910; [A. C. G. Desmazures], *Histoire du chevalier d'Iberville*, Montréal, 1890.

en 1688.⁸ Comment ce nom passa-t-il à Montréal? M. Faillon croit que Le Moyne l'emprunta "au chef-lieu de ce nom dans la châtellenie d'Hotot de Dieppe."⁹ M. P. G. Roy¹⁰ et le P. Le Jeune¹¹ se rangent à cet avis. B. Sulte, au contraire assure que Pierre Le Moyne emprunta ce nom d'un sous-secrétaire d'État à la marine qui remplissait cette charge lorsqu'il commença sa carrière et qui le protégea.¹² Telle est aussi l'opinion de F. Kastner.¹³ Une troisième hypothèse a été émise par M. Massicotte.¹⁴ Le 25 octobre 1661, Joseph Duchesne d'Iberville, parent de Charles Le Moyne, mourait de la main des Iroquois à l'Ile-à-la-Pierre, près de Montréal. Or nous lisons dans le *Journal en abrégé* de M. Asseline de Ronval qu'il avait logé chez Charles Le Moyne où, du reste, lui et l'auteur du *Journal* furent reçus "en bons amis et comme gens du même pays." Charles Le Moyne aurait même voulu que son parent passât l'hiver chez lui, ce qui se serait sans doute produit, si le jeune Normand n'avait été massacré par les sauvages. Comment ne pas établir une étroite relation, comme fait M. Massicotte, entre le nom que Pierre Le Moyne devait illustrer plus tard et celui que portait son cousin? Rappelons-nous que Pierre Le Moyne était né trois mois avant le massacre de l'Ile-à-la-Pierre. Il se peut fort bien que le nom d'Iberville ait été emprunté au chef-lieu dont parle M. Faillon; mais nous croyons qu'il passa à Pierre Le Moyne par l'intermédiaire de Joseph Duchesne.

Le marin canadien fit-il sa première communion un beau dimanche de juin, comme le supposent M. Desmazures et Mr. Reed? On n'en sait rien. Mais nous savons qu'Iberville fut confirmé le 12 mai 1669, à Montréal, par Mgr de Laval.¹⁵ Au sujet de la première communion, M. Desmazures entre dans les plus grands détails: "Voici," écrit-il, "les noms des enfants qui firent leur première communion, vers 1674, avec Pierre d'Iberville: Robutel de Saint-André, Aubuchon, Louis Descaries, Antoine de La Porte, Pierre, Paul et Jean Le Moyne, Paul et Nicolas d'Ailleboust de Manthet, Urbain Tessier, Gabriel de Montigny, Pierre

⁸ *Journal inédit de J. B. Colbert, marquis de Torcy, pendant les années 1709-1711*, Paris, 1884, 24.

⁹ Faillon, II, 350.

¹⁰ P. G. Roy, "Les noms des Longueuil," BRH, VI, 1900, 350.

¹¹ *Le Chevalier Pierre Le Moyne*, 20.

¹² *Histoire des Canadiens français*, 8 vols., Montréal, 1882-1884, V, 105.

¹³ *Héros de la Nouvelle-France, Le Moyne d'Iberville*, 17.

¹⁴ E. Z. Massicotte, "Comment expliquer cela?" BRH, XLIV, 1938, 151.

¹⁵ Ce renseignement se trouve dans le *Registre des Confirmations* conservé aux archives de l'Archevêché de Québec, p. 58. Nous le tenons de l'archiviste de la province de Québec, M. Pierre-Georges Roy, qui a eu l'obligeance de nous le communiquer.

Cavelier, Benoît et Jean Barret, Jacques Le Ber, Zacharie Robutel, et Duluth."¹⁶

La galerie ne manque pas de splendeur. Elle semble avoir fortement impressionné Mr. Reed qui en détache subrepticement Maricourt (Paul), de Montigny, de Manthet et Jean Barrett (*sic*), et qui y ajoute Sainte-Hélène et même Charles, le futur baron, qui, en 1673, avait dix sept ans, ce qui ne témoignerait pas d'une excessive précocité.¹⁷ Quant à Duluth, il faut croire qu'on le prend pour un véritable arriéré mental, puisqu'à cette date il n'avait pas moins de trente-quatre ans. Il est vrai qu'il n'aurait cessé de marcher au catéchisme que pour répondre à l'appel aux armes, puisque l'année suivante (1674) il devait servir en Belgique sous Condé, où il prit part aux campagnes de la guerre de Hollande.¹⁸ Au sujet de Jean Le Moyne qui brille aussi dans la liste de M. Desmazures, s'il s'agit de Jean-Baptiste de Bienville, et il ne peut être question que de lui, il y de quoi crier au prodige, puisqu'il ne devait naître qu'en 1680.

Cela nous amène à un autre rêve de Mr. Reed, à propos de l'éducation d'Iberville cette fois. S'il fallait l'en croire, le futur conquérant de la baie d'Hudson aurait fait ses classes au Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, sous la direction de M. de Queylus. Là il aurait appris le catéchisme, le latin, la logique, les belles-lettres, et la haine des hérétiques, ce qui expliquerait son entrain à combattre les Anglais.¹⁹ La précision de ce dernier détail ne manque pas de saveur; celle de quelques autres, en revanche, manque de vraisemblance. Il est vrai qu'Iberville, comme tous ses compatriotes d'alors détesta cordialement les Anglais et ne perdit aucune occasion de leur faire la guerre, non pas toutefois à cause de leur hérésie, mais tout simplement parce qu'ils étaient anglais et ennemis du pays. Il ne paraît pas qu'il ait été en aucune façon un missionnaire botté. Quant aux autres matières du programme que trace le même biographe, elles s'enseignaient plutôt au collège des Jésuites,²⁰ à Québec, qu'Iberville ne fréquenta point.

Mais qu'elle fut la formation d'Iberville? Ici, il convient de

¹⁶ *Vie du chevalier d'Iberville*, 36.

¹⁷ Reed, *The first great Canadian*, 35.

¹⁸ Cf. le mémoire de Duluth à Seignelay, [1682], dans H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire . . . de la Nouvelle-France . . . 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872, 177.

¹⁹ Reed, *The first great Canadian*, 34.

²⁰ Le Collège des Jésuites fut fondé à Québec en 1635. On y donna bientôt un cours classique complet: grammaire, humanités, rhétorique. L'enseignement de la philosophie s'y ajouta avant 1666, cf. Amédée Gosselin, *L'instruction au Canada sous le régime français*, Québec, 1911, 247-254.

distinguer entre son éducation, son instruction et sa formation strictement maritime. L'éducation de la famille Le Moyne paraît avoir été excellente. Denonville l'a affirmé: "Diberville Monseigneur est un tres sage Garcon Entreprenant et qui scait ce qu'il fait. Ils sont huit freres enfans de feu le Moine tous les mieux elevés en Canada avec les Enfans de Le Ber leur oncle qui a toujours gouverné les deux familles dans une étroite union d'interais et d'amitié. Aussy ces deux familles sont-elles en aces bon etas et font honneur Au Païs."²¹

On a écrit des pages fort touchantes sur la formation familiale du marin canadien.²² Mais rien n'approche le tableau que J. Marmette brosse à grands traits, et où l'on voit Charles Le Moyne en patriarche et sa femme, "trempee à l'antique," verser l'héroïsme à doses massives dans l'âme de leur progéniture.²³ Tout ce que le témoignage de Denonville nous permet de conclure, c'est qu'Iberville a reçu l'éducation que pouvait alors recevoir un membre de la bourgeoisie coloniale.

Mais quelle fut, dans cette formation, la part réservée à l'instruction proprement dite? M. A. Roy parle de l'instruction familiale, de la lecture et du calcul appris sur les genoux de la mère, ou sous la surveillance du père.²⁴ C'est vraisemblable. Encore faut-il, dans le cas particulier d'Iberville, tenir compte de certains faits qui restreignent singulièrement la portée d'une telle supposition. Si l'on se souvient, d'une part, que le père d'Iberville a déjà signé *Challe Moine*, qu'il avait débarqué à Québec à l'âge de quinze ans — ce qui exclut l'hypothèse d'études avancées — et qu'ensuite ses fonctions multipliées, ajoutées aux préoccupations constantes de son commerce, ne durent pas lui laisser beaucoup de loisirs à consacrer à l'instruction d'une famille qui croissait avec une remarquable régularité; si l'on se rappelle, d'autre part, que la mère d'Iberville s'était mariée à la fin de sa treizième année ou au début de sa quatorzième année, qu'entre 1662 et 1674, dates entre lesquelles elle eût pu faire l'éducation de Pierre, elle n'eut pas moins de six enfants, sans compter les trois qu'elle avait déjà,—il est logique de conclure que les circonstances dans lesquelles aurait pu se donner cette

²¹ Denonville au Ministre, 31 octobre 1687, AC, C 11A, 10:94v.

²² Reed, *The first great Canadian*, 31-33; [Desmazures], *Histoire du chevalier d'Iberville*, 37.

²³ J. Marmette, *Les Machabées de la Nouvelle-France*, Québec, 1878, 75-76.

²⁴ A. Roy, *Les lettres, les sciences et les arts au Canada sous le régime français*, Paris, 1930, 8.

instruction furent extrêmement défavorables et la rendirent pratiquement impossible.

Reste l'école publique. Quelle était-elle à Montréal entre 1661 et 1675? Son enseignement ne pouvait être que rudimentaire. En 1661, il n'y avait que dix-neuf ans que la ville était fondée. Durant tout ce temps les raids continuels des Iroquois avaient paralysé son développement. Pourtant, c'est vers cette année 1661 que M. Gabriel Souart "qui a fait les premières écoles dans ce lieu," semble avoir entrepris d'instruire les petits montréalais.²⁵ On ne voit pas qu'Iberville ait pu faire ses classes ailleurs.

Mais cette école fonctionnait-elle avec beaucoup de régularité? Rien n'est moins sûr. En 1681, soit vingt ans après la date à laquelle on place la fondation de l'école de M. Souart, M. Tronson écrivait à celui-ci: "Ce serait assurément un des plus grands biens qu'on pût faire dans le pays que d'en établir une (école) bien réglée." Et encore l'année suivante: "S'il ne survient point de nouvelles tempestes et que l'on vous laisse en repos, comme il y a tout sujet de l'espérer, vous aurez l'année prochaine de quoy contenter vos désirs pour l'établissement d'une école paroissiale."²⁶ Il n'est pas étonnant qu'une telle école n'ait donné à Iberville qu'un enseignement strictement élémentaire. Un coup d'oeil sur sa correspondance suffit pour étayer cette conclusion, et cela même en un temps où les meilleurs écrivains ne se préoccupaient pas de mettre toujours l'orthographe.²⁷

Mais cela importe assez peu puisque, de son propre aveu, Iberville ne se destinait pas aux études, mais au métier des armes et plus particulièrement à celui de marin. Il ne faisait en cela que suivre un courant qui se dessinait très nettement en Nouvelle-France. Talon écrivait en 1671 que la jeunesse canadienne se jetait littéralement dans la marine.²⁸ Et cet engouement pour les choses et surtout pour les grades de la marine ne devait pas cesser de sitôt; pour la seule année 1693, par exemple, les "Ex-

²⁵ L'abbé Souart fut supérieur de Saint-Sulpice, à Montréal, de 1661 à 1668. Entre ces deux dates, il fit "plusieurs fondations, entre autres les avances d'un commencement pour l'établissement des petites écoles." On croit qu'il enseignait encore en 1672 et 1674. En 1666, deux Sulpiciens arrivèrent à Montréal pour s'occuper de l'instruction primaire. Peu après l'un d'eux fut chargé d'une autre mission. À partir de 1672, un sous-diacre, M. Rémy, s'occupa aussi d'enseignement. Cf. Amédée Gosselin, *L'instruction au Canada*, 79-81.

²⁶ Cité par L. Groulx, *L'enseignement français au Canada*, 2 vols., Montréal, 1933-1934, I, 33.

²⁷ Cf. C.-A. Sainte-Beuve, "Lettre sur l'orthographe," *Causeries du lundi*, 16 vols., Paris, s. d., XI, 426-431.

²⁸ "Mémoire au Roi sur le Canada," AC, C 11A, 3:168v-169, dans RAPQ, 1931, 161.

traits des lettres et demandes" révèlent qu'une trentaine de Canadiens sollicitent un emploi dans l'armée navale.²⁹

Iberville commença de bonne heure à préparer sa carrière de marin. "Dès l'âge de quatorze ans," lit-on dans le "Mémoire succinct," "il se forma à la navigation par plusieurs voyages qu'il fit dans le golfe de Saint-Laurent, tant à l'isle Percée qu'autres lieux, dans un bâtiment qui appartenait au sieur Le Moyne, son père, et ensuite il fit plusieurs voyages en France sous d'habiles navigateurs."³⁰

Le marin montréalais reçut-il dans son adolescence une autre formation maritime? Voilà une question à laquelle M. Desmazures et Mr. Reed—qui, en cela, suit le premier biographe avec une remarquable fidélité—se sont hâtés de répondre par l'affirmative. Mr. Reed, une fois de plus, est très précis. À son dire, c'est vers 1673 que Sainte-Hélène, Iberville et Maricourt, sous la recommandation de Frontenac,³¹ furent reçus dans la marine royale comme élèves officiers. Après quatre ou cinq années d'études, après avoir étudié les mathématiques, l'artillerie, ainsi que l'hydrographie théorique et pratique, Iberville aurait alors complété son éducation sur les vaisseaux du Roi, sous les ordres de Tourville, du maréchal d'Estrées et de Jean Bart. D'ailleurs, coïncidence heureuse à la vérité, Colbert était justement occupé à bâtir la marine française.³² Coïncidence non moins remarquable, M. Desmazures avait longtemps auparavant, donné les mêmes précisions. Après avoir rappelé que Colbert s'efforçait justement, à cette époque, "de mettre la marine militaire sur le plus grand pied," et qu'à cet effet il s'appliquait à faire enseigner "les mathématiques, l'hydrographie, le service du canon," l'historien sulpicien avait affirmé gratuitement que Sainte-Hélène, Iberville et Maricourt—âgés respectivement de quatorze, douze et dix ans, en 1673, (le dernier aurait fait un bien petit mousse)—furent envoyés en France et que là "d'Iberville avec ses frères passa quatre ou cinq ans dans l'apprentissage de la vie de marin."³³ De nombreux auteurs ont répété, quoique avec moins de détails, cette même affirmation, G. M. Wrong,³⁴ F. Parkman,³⁵ F. Daniel,³⁶

²⁹ AC, C 11A, 12:329-358v. Le grade d'enseigne de vaisseau paraît avoir joui d'une singulière popularité.

³⁰ "Mémoire succinct . . ." dans Guérin, IV, 470.

³¹ Nous n'avons vu nulle part dans la correspondance de Frontenac, aucun indice d'une telle recommandation.

³² Reed, *The first great Canadian*, 38-39.

³³ [Desmazures], *Vie du chevalier d'Iberville*, 63-68.

³⁴ *The Canadians, the Story of a People*, New York, 1938, 116.

³⁵ *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, Boston, 1884, 388.

³⁶ *Nos gloires nationales*, 159.

L. Gougeon,³⁷ A. Jodoin et J. L. Vincent,³⁸ F. de Kastner,³⁹ J. Marmette,⁴⁰ et sans doute d'autres encore.

C'est cependant une erreur. L'école d'art maritime dont ces historiens veulent parler, et certains d'entre eux la mentionnent en termes exprès, est celle des gardes-marine. Établie à Rochefort, à Toulon et à Brest, elle était réservée à huit cents membres de "la jeune noblesse qui voudroit servir sur mer." On y donnait un enseignement théorique qu'un entraînement poursuivi sur les vaisseaux du roi devait compléter; et comme le corps des gardes-marine était exclusif, c'est-à-dire ouvert aux seuls gentilshommes, on n'y négligeait pas l'enseignement des arts d'agrément: le personnel comprenait, par exemple, des maîtres à danser. Or, fait qui réduit à néant les hypothèses de ceux qui avancent qu'Iberville y fut admis vers 1675, ce corps ne fut constitué qu'en 1683.⁴¹ Iberville avait alors vingt-deux ans.

Y entra-t-il à cet âge? Nous ne croyons pas. À cette date, Iberville pouvait déjà se passer de l'enseignement de la "belle école," car en 1683, La Barre écrivait "qu'il entendait fort bien la mer."⁴² De plus, il semble que les deux premiers Canadiens qui y aient été reçus, ne le furent pas avant 1685,⁴³ c'est-à-dire un an avant la première campagne d'Iberville à la baie d'Hudson; ce dernier n'aurait eu alors que le temps d'y passer.⁴⁴ Ajoutons que c'était une distinction réelle que d'y être admis: la Nouvelle-France ne pouvait prétendre qu'à deux candidats par année. Dans

³⁷ "Le Chevalier d'Iberville," *Revue canadienne*, XXV, 1889, 32.

³⁸ *Histoire de Longueuil et de la famille de Longueuil*, 86.

³⁹ *Héros de la Nouvelle-France, Le Moyne d'Iberville*, Québec, 1902, 15.

⁴⁰ *Les Machabées de la Nouvelle-France*, 80.

⁴¹ L. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, 10 vols., Paris, 1759, s. v. "gardes de la marine."

⁴² La Barre au ministre, 4 novembre 1683, cité par P. G. R[oy], "Le fils de M. de Saurel," *BRH*, XXVII, 1921, 29.

⁴³ E. Richard, *Report on Canadian Archives, 1899, Supplement*, Ottawa, 1901, 270.

⁴⁴ Iberville n'aurait pas eu besoin d'aller chercher dans la métropole les éléments de l'hydrographie. De bonne heure, en effet, on commença à enseigner cette matière au Collège des Jésuites, en 1665, selon M. l'abbé Gosselin. Cette chaire eut pour premier titulaire Martin Boutet, aussi connu sous le nom de Sieur de Saint Martin, *Jugements et délibérations*, III, 1011. Ce dernier exerça cette fonction jusqu'en 1677, BN, Clairambault, 1016:396. Le 13 octobre 1676, le Père Enjalran écrit que Saint Martin "à instruit la plus part des capitaines qui conduisent des vaisseaux en ce pays," *Jesuit Relations*, LX, 142. Iberville avait alors quinze ans. Suivait-il les cours de Martin Boutet? Rien ne l'indique, et nous ne le croyons pas. Le "Mémoire succinct," on l'a vu, fait consister toute son éducation dans la pratique. À ce sujet, l'inventaire de la succession de Charles Le Moyne nous apprend que celui-ci possédait un vaisseau qui faisait la traversée de l'océan, Jodoin et Vincent, *Histoire de Longueuil*, 77-79. Ne semblerait-il pas tout naturel qu'Iberville se fût initié à la manoeuvre et au commandement sur le navire de son père?

ce cas pourquoi les documents ne mentionneraient-ils pas l'admission d'Iberville, alors qu'ils rapportent celle de son frère Sérigny?⁴⁵ Pourquoi, en particulier, le "Mémoire succinct" ne rappellerait-il pas un fait de cette importance, alors qu'il fait état de choses aussi peu remarquables que deux lettres que le gouverneur de La Barre écrivit au marin montréalais le 23 février et le 3 juillet 1689, ou encore que deux lettres écrites au même par le ministre, le 18 avril et le 6 mai 1693? Pourquoi resterait-il silencieux sur ce fait, alors que, comme nous l'avons noté, c'est à partir de 1683 que les affirmations de ce document se font plus précises?

Du reste aucun de ceux qui ont affirmé qu'Iberville fut garde-marine n'en a apporté la preuve. C'est ce qui semble avoir autorisé le P. Le Jeune à écrire que cette affirmation lui "paraît gratuite et controuvée";⁴⁶ mais le principal argument sur lequel il s'appuie, qui est un acte notarié par Iberville à Montréal, le 15 mars 1678,⁴⁷ prouve simplement que celui-ci se trouvait au Canada à cette date, qui d'ailleurs, vient cinq ans trop tôt ou quatre ans trop tard.

Mais cela nous donne une idée de ce qu'il ne fit pas dans sa jeunesse plutôt que de ce qu'il fit. Une chose est certaine: il faut qu'il ait appris quelque part son métier de marin. Il devait y exceller au point que Charlevoix n'a pas craint d'émettre l'opinion qu'il n'y avait "peut-être pas en France de plus habile Manoeuvrier que lui."⁴⁸ S'il ne l'étudia pas dans une école, il l'acquît par la pratique. Ici, nous avons des indications plus explicites. Le "Mémoire succinct," nous l'avons vu, affirme très nettement qu'il "fit plusieurs voyages en France sous d'habiles navigateurs."⁴⁹ Affirmation corroborée par M. de la Barre, qui, dans la lettre citée plus haut, rappelle que le jeune marin "a mené et ramené déjà plusieurs navires en France," et demande pour lui un brevet d'enseigne de vaisseau.⁵⁰

A ce sujet le P. Le Jeune écrit: "Quant au grade de *garde de la marine* que quelques biographes lui ont décerné gratuitement, il n'est resté aucun document authentique qui en indique l'époque de la nomination. On peut la supposer avec une certaine vrai-

⁴⁵ Résumé des lettres de Denonville et Champigny, 31 octobre et 6 novembre 1688, AC, C 11A, 10:184v.

⁴⁶ *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville*, 22.

⁴⁷ O. L. Schmidt Collection, Chicago Historical Society, vol. I, 189.

⁴⁸ P. F. X. Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France*, 3 vols., Paris, 1744, II, 206.

⁴⁹ "Mémoire succinct," dans Guérin, IV, 470.

⁵⁰ Cité par P. G. Roy, "Le fils de M. de Saurel," BRH, XVII, 1921, 29.

semblance et quelque fondement, puisque le gouverneur sollicite en sa faveur le brevet d'*enseigne de vaisseau*.⁵¹ Ce passage est étrange. Un tel grade n'existait pas. Comme nous l'avons vu, les gardes-marine étaient les élèves officiers des écoles navales du roi, et quatre pages plus hauts le même historien émet l'opinion que l'admission d'Iberville à cette école paraît être une "supposition . . . gratuite et controuvée." Profitons-en pour tâcher de marquer les étapes d'Iberville dans la marine française. Il reçut le grade de capitaine de frégate légère en 1692,⁵² et fut promu à celui de capitaine des vaisseaux du roi en 1702.⁵³ C'est tout ce que disent les documents. Rien au sujet des grades inférieurs. Ici deux hypothèses se présentent. Ou bien Iberville a sauté par dessus les premiers échelons du *cursus honorum*, ou bien l'auteur du "Mémoire succinct" a cru inutile de parler des premières promotions.

Nous savons que lorsque La Barre, en 1683, envoya le jeune marin porter ses dépêches, il demanda un brevet d'enseigne en sa faveur. Le P. Le Jeune croit que la requête n'eut pas de suite.⁵⁴ Cependant la commission de capitaine de frégate, obtenue neuf ans plus tard, porterait à croire que son titulaire avait déjà reçu les brevets d'enseigne et de lieutenant.⁵⁵

Mais il est sûr qu'Iberville ne passa pas toute sa jeunesse à bord. Même s'il avait déjà fait plusieurs fois la traversée de l'océan en 1683, il avait aussi travaillé au Canada à cette époque. Le journal de l'expédition du chevalier de Troyes, nous le montre comme l'un des meilleurs canoteurs du détachement qui chassa les Anglais du fond de la baie d'Hudson en 1686.⁵⁶ Le canotage ne s'apprend guère sur les vaisseaux du roi. Du reste, pourquoi n'aurait-il pas travaillé pour son père? Dans le mémoire de Frontenac sur les coureurs de bois cité plus haut, on lit que "le père et les enfants de ce Le Moyne . . . attirent les Sauvages" au bout de l'île de Montreal, "et traitent aussi avec des coureurs de bois."⁵⁷ L'habileté qu'Iberville devait plus tard déployer dans le

⁵¹ *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne*, 26.

⁵² "Mémoire succinct," dans Guérin, IV, 474.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 477.

⁵⁴ Le Jeune, *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne*, 26.

⁵⁵ En 1690, Denonville demandait un brevet de lieutenant de vaisseau pour Pierre Le Moyne, AC, C 11A, 10:340.

⁵⁶ "Relation et journal du voiage du nort par un detachement de cent hommes commandés, par le Sieur de Troyes en mars 1686," publié par I. Caron sous le titre *Journal de l'expédition du chevalier de Troyes à la baie d'Hudson en 1686*, Beauceville, 1918, 24, 26, 28-29, 57-58.

⁵⁷ "Mémoire et preuve de la cause du désordre des coureurs de bois, avec le moyen de les détruire, 1681," RAPQ, 1927, 120-124.

commerce avec les sauvages, tant au nord qu'à la Louisiane, suffirait à faire croire qu'il était familier avec les méthodes qui avaient si bien servi Charles Le Moyne.

Tenterons-nous de tracer un portrait physique de Pierre Le Moyne? M. Desmazures l'a fait.⁵⁸ Mr. Reed n'y a pas manqué.⁵⁹ Leurs descriptions ne sont que des exercices de style. Quant au portrait qui est reproduit un peu partout,⁶⁰ on ne sait pas quelle en est l'authenticité. S'appliquer à y trouver, comme fait le P. Le Jeune, de "l'énergie" et de la "tenacité"⁶¹ est aussi facile que stérile. Tout ce que nous pouvons dire, c'est que Denonville trouvait que les fils de Charles Le Moyne étaient tous de "fort Jolis Enfants."⁶² Il décrivait aussi Iberville comme un "tres Joly homme."⁶³ Qu'il ait eu de l'allure et un air martial, on peut le supposer en s'appuyant sur le mot de Philippe Gaultier de Comporté, l'un des directeurs de la Campagne du Nord: "C'est un gentilhomme d'un tres grand merite et d'une conduite admirable et soldat comme l'espée qu'il porte."⁶⁴

L'esquisse d'un portrait moral présente des difficultés plus grandes encore. Cette figure extrêmement complexe ne se laisse pas aisément réduire en formules. Le P. Le Jeune écrit: "Il possédait la maîtrise de soi et il dominait à son gré ses inclinations inférieures qu'il savait soumettre aux puissances supérieures."⁶⁵ Cependant, deux pages plus haut, il raconte à demi-mots l'aventure qui arriva au marin montréalais peu avant sa première campagne à la baie d'Hudson, en 1686. Nous allons rappeler les faits le plus brièvement possible en nous appuyant sur les données que l'on peut trouver dans les pièces—toutes publiées—du procès.

Le 11 mai 1686, Jeanne Geneviève Picoté de Belestre accusa Iberville de l'avoir séduite. Le lendemain, le bailli de Montréal, devant qui elle "avoüe ingenuement sa foiblesse," enregistra sa plainte dans la maison de Pierre Devanchy "où elle estoit, ayant

⁵⁸ [Desmazures], *Histoire du chevalier d'Iberville*, 37. Cette description se trouve dans un page où l'auteur nous apprend qu'Iberville était le digne fils du "baron" de Longueuil; or le premier baron de Longueuil fut Charles, son frère aîné, qui reçut ce titre le 26 janvier 1700; cf. l'acte d'érection en baronnie de la terre et seigneurie de Longueuil dans Jodoin et Vincent, *Histoire de Longueuil*, 179-183.

⁵⁹ Reed, *The first great Canadian*, 45, 46, 116.

⁶⁰ Margry, IV, frontispice.

⁶¹ *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne*, 29.

⁶² Denonville au Ministre, 10 novembre 1686, AC, C 11A, 8:129.

⁶³ "L'Estat des affaires avant et depuis l'arrivée de M^r de frontenac jusques au depart des Vaisseaux," AC, C 11A, 10:340.

⁶⁴ De Comporté à Villermont, 30 octobre 1687, BN, Clairambault, 1016:485.

⁶⁵ *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne*, 29.

esté abandonnée de ses Soeurs."⁶⁶ La jeune fille paraissait singulièrement désespérée, comme l'indique la scène qu'elle fit devant le magistrat, "lui déclarant qu'elle n'auroit aucun soin du fruit qu'elle auroit Et qu'elle mourait plustost que de l'aletter,"⁶⁷ si bien qu'on dut charger quelqu'un de veiller de quinzaine en quinzaine sur la malheureuse et sur "la conservation de son fruit."⁶⁸ L'affaire, portée devant le Conseil Souverain, traîna en longueur. On tenait à ce qu'Iberville remplît la promesse de mariage que, disait-on, et c'était très vraisemblable, il avait faite à la jeune fille.⁶⁹ Le marin risquait gros. Des procès de moeurs avaient entraîné, devant le même tribunal, des sentences capitales et des condamnations aux galères.⁷⁰ Et on ne l'accusait pas moins que de "Crime de rapt Et Séduction."⁷¹

S'il s'en tira, c'est que, malgré les multiples défenses de quitter les lieux que le Conseil lui enjoignait, il paraissait littéralement insaisissable. D'abord, il ne revint de l'expédition du nord qu'en octobre 1687. Au moment où l'on crut l'atteindre, le tribunal reçut une "remonstrance" du gouverneur Denonville, établissant la nécessité où était Iberville de passer en France "pour aller rendre compte à S. M. des affaires de la Baie du Nord."⁷² Toutefois Jacques de Maleray de la Mollerie qui, depuis le 11 avril, avait remplacé sa femme, Françoise Picoté, comme tuteur de la jeune soeur de celle-ci, ne désarmait pas. Le 14 juin 1688, il parvenait à faire imposer au prévenu une défense de sortir de la ville "A peine d'estre atteint et convaincu des cas a luy imposez."⁷³ Quoique Iberville, puis son procureur, Denis Riverin, eussent demandé enquête sur "la conduite Et la vye de la dite de Belestre," et que l'accusé eût tenté, pour se justifier, de "faire informer de la mauvaise conduite de la Picotté,"⁷⁴ celui-ci n'en fut pas moins déclaré coupable, le 22 octobre 1688.

La sentence portait qu'il devait prendre son enfant—une fille qui avait été baptisée le 21 juin 1686⁷⁵—et l'élever à ses frais jusqu'à l'âge de quinze ans, en laissant à la mère l'entière liberté de la voir.⁷⁶ Quoique le P. Le Jeune déclare qu'on ne saurait dans

⁶⁶ *Jugements et délibérations*, III, 194.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 517-518, 575-576, 661-662.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, III, 258.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 234.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 238.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁷⁵ *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne*, 27.

⁷⁶ *Jugements et délibérations*, III, 263-264.

de tels litiges, avoir "de certitude positive contre le véritable délinquant,"⁷⁷ il paraît bien difficile de ne pas donner entièrement tort à Iberville. En effet, le clan Le Moyne ne manquait pas de puissance à l'époque. Il fallait que l'évidence fût nettement contre le marin montréalais pour qu'il se vît condamner après un procès qui avait duré deux ans. Quoi qu'il en soit, et malgré l'inélégance de la conduite qu'il avait tenue en cette occasion, Jeanne-Geneviève Picoté qui, dans ce procès, semble bien s'être fait forcé la main par sa famille, parut toujours espérer qu'Iberville finirait par la marier. Ce n'est, en effet, que le 2 octobre 1693, soit six jours avant le mariage de Pierre Le Moyne et de Marie-Thérèse Pollet,⁷⁸ qu'elle se retira chez les religieuses de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, où elle mourut, à l'âge de 54 ans, en juin 1721.⁷⁹

La conclusion de cette affaire semble dépasser les limites que nous nous étions tracées. Mais l'événement qui l'avait causée eut lieu à l'automne de 1685, quelques mois avant l'expédition du nord. Ce dernier acte de la jeunesse d'Iberville ne doit pas faire oublier ce qui l'avait précédé; une longue préparation au rôle de soldat des avant-postes de l'empire français d'Amérique. Combien cette préparation fut effective, vingt ans de campagnes brillantes allaient le prouver. Le jugement de Léon Guérin est classique:

C'était un héros dans toute l'étendue de l'expression. Si ses campagnes, prodigieuses par leurs résultats obtenus avec les plus faibles moyens matériels, avaient eu l'Europe pour témoin et non les mers sans retentissement des voisinages du pôle, il eût obtenu de son vivant et après sa mort un nom aussi célèbre que celui des Jean Bart, des Duguay-Trouin et des Tourville, et fût sans aucun doute parvenu aux plus hauts grades et aux plus hauts commandements dans la marine.⁸⁰

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⁷⁷ *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne*, 28.

⁷⁸ Une reproduction photographique du contrat de mariage d'Iberville est publiée dans RAPQ, 1926, 128.

⁷⁹ Cabrette [E. Z. Massicotte], "Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville et Mlle. Picoté de Belestre," BRH, XXI, 1915, 224.

⁸⁰ *Histoire maritime de la France*, IV, 162.

The "De Soto Map"

In addition to the various accounts of Hernando De Soto's expedition a map is usually given as illustrating the journey of the conquistador through the southern United States. It may be described as a sketch map of the Gulf of Mexico, including the Florida peninsula. How far north it extends can only be deduced, for no latitudes are shown. If, however, the length of the Florida peninsula from 25° to 30° north latitude is taken as a standard, the 38th parallel will be found at the top of the map, that is approximately on a line with Evansville, Indiana, and Lexington, Kentucky. Neither are there any longitudes, but the westernmost portion of the map is very close to the Gulf coast. Many rivers and some mountain ranges are shown, and there are 127 different names or descriptive legends on it. There is no title on the face of the map, but according to HARRISSE, the map is labelled "Golfo y Costa de la Nueva España,"¹ which inscription, we conclude, is on the back of the map, since it is not on the face of the photograph examined. In 1881 the map was exhibited in Madrid and listed under the title, "Diseño de las costas de Tierra firme descubiertas por Diego Velazquez y Francisco de Garay, y de la Florida, que descubrió Juan Ponce de Leon.—1521." However, there is no information about the cartographer nor about the time when it was drawn. The opinions of writers who have tried to identify the maker of this map and to date it are briefly reviewed in the following paragraphs.

HARRISSE was the first to reproduce the map, which was found in the Archives of the Indies at Seville,² and to comment upon it. His reproduction is apparently made from a tracing containing errors of transcription.³ In his list of maps, he included it in the chapter pertaining to "Doubtful Maps," under 1521, the date given to it by those who prepared the Madrid exhibition. Har-

¹ H. HARRISSE, *The Discovery of North America. A Critical, Documentary, and Historic Investigation, with an Essay on the Early Cartography of the New World*, London, 1892, 643.

² *Archivo General de Indias*, 145-7-8. A photograph of the original is in the Karpinski Collection.

³ Since HARRISSE's publication of it, the map has appeared several times. These reproductions seem all to have been made from this tracing, with the exception of that which accompanies J. A. Robertson's translation of the account of the De Soto expedition by the Gentleman of Elvas. This latter is from a photograph of the original map, and a transparent sheet accompanies it on which there is a transcription of the nomenclature. No reproduction of the map is inserted in this study because of the lack of a satisfactory photograph from which it could be printed.

risse, however, in his discussion of the map says: "So far from being a map of the discoveries of Velasquez, Garay, or Ponce de Leon, and of the year 1521, it is more than twenty years later, and intended to describe the countries explored by Hernando de Soto and Luis de Moscoso, from May 30, 1539, until July 19, 1543." As to the authorship of the map, this writer merely observes: "Herrera mentions a map of that expedition given to him by one Antonio Boto, which may have been a copy of the present."⁴

Harris's statements were repeated by those who discussed this map in later years. Nordenskiöld, writing, in 1897, dates it 1543.⁵ His mention of the map is very brief and his references are to Harris. The De Soto nomenclature seems to have led Nordenskiöld to date the map as he does; apparently he overlooked the facts that the survivors of the expedition, though they reached Mexico in September 1543, did not return to Spain until 1544, and that the official report of Biedma was not turned over to the government until that year.

In 1900, Pedro Torres Lanzas, who examined the map personally, indicated its provenance.⁶ On the back, he wrote, is the following inscription: "De los papeles que traxeron de Seuilla de Alonso Santa Cruz," but he does not give Santa Cruz as the author. He listed it, without date, under the title, "Mapa del Golfo y Costa de Nueva España, desde el Rio de Panuco hasta el cabo de Santa Elena &." Two years later, in 1902, Theodore H. Lewis said that the sketch was compiled after 1543 and before the results of the Luna expedition of 1559-1561 were known. Had it been made after 1559, he reasoned, it is unlikely that the cartographer would have omitted geographical information derived from the accounts of the Luna expedition. He makes no mention of the author of the sketch and calls the reproduction which he published a "Copy of an original and the earliest known map of the De Soto expedition."⁷ It is, however, taken from the Harris reproduction. In his book on the *Islario* of Santa Cruz, Franz

⁴ H. Harris, 643-644.

⁵ A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus, an Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing-directions*, Stockholm, 1897, 182a.

⁶ P. Torres Lanzas, *Relación Descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos, & de México y Floridas existentes en el Archivo General de Indias*, 2 vols., Seville, 1900, I, 17.

⁷ T. H. Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepacana to Huasene," in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* (1902), VI, 449-467; reprinted in *A Symposium on the Place of Discovery of the Mississippi River by Hernando de Soto*, Jackson, 1927, 12-30. The De Soto map is discussed on page 13 of the latter volume.

von Wieser mentions that the sketch was found in the papers of Santa Cruz, but, according to him, it does not seem to have been made by Santa Cruz, and without giving a reason for his statement he asserts that it only belonged to him. Von Wieser merely combined what he found in Harrisse and Torres Lanzas; he ends his short reference to the map by expressing the wish that someone would publish and describe it.⁸

Lowery was the first to attribute the map to Santa Cruz.⁹ However, he qualified its entry under this name by saying, "the only supposable reason why this map should be placed under Santa Cruz is that on the back of the map is written 'Golfo y Costa de la nueva esp.' De los papeles que Trugeron [sic] de Sevilla de Alonso de Santa Cruz.'" He listed the map under "1572?" Lowery gave this date because he supposed 1572 to be the year of Santa Cruz's death, whereas 1572 is the year in which Juan López de Velasco, then royal cosmographer, received the papers of Santa Cruz, and, as will be seen, in 1572, Santa Cruz had been dead five years.

The first photographic publication of the map accompanies J. A. Robertson's translation of the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas.¹⁰ The editor's remarks concerning this map are few. He rejects Santa Cruz as the author. The legend on the back of the map, "De los papeles que traxeron de Sevilla de Alonso de Santa Cruz" is, he wrote, "by some archivist through some error."¹¹ Robertson makes no suggestion as to the identity of the cartographer, nor does he date the map. In the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, where a discussion of the map might be expected, it is only briefly mentioned.¹²

Such are, briefly outlined, the opinions of writers who have mentioned this map. It is the purpose of this paper to ascertain the more probable author of the map, and, as nearly as possible, the date when it was made.

Before taking up these two questions, however, it will be well

⁸ "Eine Beschreibung bzw. Publicierung dieser Karte ist ein pium desiderium," F. von Wieser, *Die Karten von Amerika in dem Islario General des Alonso de Santa Cruz*, Innsbruck, 1908, xvi.

⁹ W. Lowery, *The Lowery Collection. A Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions*, Washington, 1912, 78.

¹⁰ *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Fernando de Soto. . . . Now newly set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas*. Translated and edited by James Alexander Robertson, 2 vols., Deland, 1933, II, 418.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 427n.

¹² *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, Washington, 1939, 11.

to recall briefly the influence which the discovery and exploration in the New World had on the activities of Spanish mapmakers. Previous to the second voyage of Columbus, it was realized that a special agency for handling the affairs of the New World was necessary. The Council of the Indies was accordingly established. At the beginning this organization handled all problems, but soon, along with it, there grew up another administrative body, independent of the Council, which was organized at Seville in 1503. This was the *Casa de la Contratación*.¹³ All that pertained to the political administration of the Spanish territory in the New World was in the hands of the Council of the Indies; the *Casa* would supervise all things economical. The activities of the *Casa* increased in proportion with the establishment of profitable trade relations. As the administration of the commercial affairs of the colonies soon became a tremendous task, it was found advisable to organize the *Casa* into departments, one of which was the geographical division.

This geographical or cosmographical department of the *Casa*, one of the first hydrographic offices to be established, was created in August 1508.¹⁴ By royal decree Amerigo Vespucci was named the first pilot major, that is, the head of the department. Later there were three chief pilots: a resident pilot of the Indian House, a pilot of the royal armada, and a pilot of the Spanish fleet. "It was the chief pilot of the Indian House, who in addition to his other duties passed upon the qualifications of the professors or teachers of cosmography, that is of geography, and who supervised the manufacture of all instruments of navigation. He was to direct the preparation or the revision of the Pattern map."¹⁵ The making of this Pattern map, or *Padrón Real*, as it was called, had been ordained in the royal decree founding the geographical division of the *Casa*; it was to be made jointly by the officials of the *Casa* and the experienced pilots. Upon returning from a voyage, each pilot was to report his findings marked on the chart

¹³ The founding, the jurisdiction, and the functioning of the *Casa* have often been discussed. Cf. M. F. Navarrete, *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Náutica, y de las Ciencias Matemáticas que han Contribuido á sus Progresos entre los Españoles*, Madrid, 1846, 132 ff., H. HARRISSE, 256 ff., and B. MOSES, "The Casa de Contratación of Seville," in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1894*, Washington, 1895, 93-123.

¹⁴ On this department of the *Casa*, cf. HARRISSE, 256 ff., G. LATORRE, "La Cartografía Colonial Americana," in *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas*, año III (1915), no. 6, 1-10, no. 9 and 10, 1-14, and E. L. STEVENSON, "The Geographical Activities of the Casa de la Contratación," in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XVII (1927), 39-59.

¹⁵ E. L. STEVENSON, *loc. cit.*, 42.

he had carried with him. Findings approved by the pilot major and cosmographers were inserted in the *Padrón*.

This arrangement did not work out well in practice. By 1515 charts were found to be at variance with each other. It was apparent that the 1508 ordinance had not been followed, and a few years later a map by Andrés de Morales, not based on the *Padrón*, was considered the best. A junta of pilots of the *Casa* took action and were authorized to correct the charts. On October 6, 1526, Charles V ordered Diego Ribero and other members of the *Casa* to make an official map, and the following year, on August 2, 1527, he ordered that, from that time on, the *Padrón Real* should be known as the *Padrón General* and should be committed to the care of the president and judges of the *Casa*, and checked twice a year. The Ribero map of 1529 is the best known Spanish map to have been compiled in the few years immediately after this decree. Since Ribero was a member of the *Casa* and had the title of Cosmographer to His Majesty, his map may be considered a faithful copy of the *Padrón General*, as it existed in 1529, for the *Padrón* itself is no longer extant.

A description of another map designated as a *Padrón* has been preserved by Oviedo. In his *Historia*, he speaks of "the recent map, made by the cosmographer Alonso de Chaves, in the year 1536, after the Emperor had ordered [the members of the geographical division of the *Casa*] to see and examine it."¹⁶ This map of 1536, described by Oviedo,¹⁷ is also lost. It may well have been a copy of the *Padrón* of that time, based upon that of Ribero and his co-workers, for a reconstruction from Oviedo's description shows that it closely resembled Ribero's 1529 map, with additional information received in the interval. Though the Chaves map of 1536 is no longer to be found, that made by Alonso de Santa Cruz in 1542 is extant;¹⁸ it resembles the map of Ribero, the description of the Chaves map, and the Sebastian Cabot map of 1544, an important and well-known map of the period. The similarity of these four maps is easily understood when it is remembered that their authors were contemporary cartographers, working together at the *Casa*, and all of them copying the then existing *Padrón General*.

¹⁶ G. F. de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-firme del Mar Océano*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1851-1855, II, 150.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 141-149; translated in *Historical Magazine*, X (1866), 371-374; from this a map has been partially reconstructed by A. J. Hill for J. V. Brower, "The Mississippi River and Its Source," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, VII, 28.

¹⁸ This map has been published and analyzed by E. W. Dahlgren, *Map of the World by Alonso de Santa Cruz, 1542*, Stockholm, 1892.

The above remarks are deemed necessary for a better understanding of the following discussion of the date and the authorship of the De Soto map. While the sketch could have been made by Cabot or Chaves,¹⁹ there are several indications pointing to Santa Cruz as the more probable author.

Alonso de Santa Cruz,²⁰ the son of Francisco de Santa Cruz,²¹ was born in 1506 or 1507, probably at Seville. Little is known of his early years. It has been assumed that he studied at the University of Salamanca. This assumption is based on a manuscript statement found on the last page of an almanac belonging to a former professor of geography in that city, that "en el año de 1512 entró conmigo Alonso de Santa Cruz á San Miguel [Sept. 29] é presté de 1,800 maravedises."²² However, it is not until 1525 that definite information of his activities is available. In that year he was appointed treasurer of the expedition that left Seville in 1526 for the Moluccas under the command of Sebastian Cabot.²³ The expedition was sponsored by a committee of men who were interested in obtaining spices from these islands, and Charles V partially financed the expedition in the interest of geographic exploration. It is probable that Alonso de Santa Cruz joined in the venture because his father was on this committee. Cabot's route, it is supposed, was to be across the Atlantic, through the Straits of Magellan and on to the Moluccas. Cabot, however, went to Brazil. When the fleet of four ships reached Pernambuco, the Spaniards heard tales of great mineral wealth in the region of La Plata, and the commander determined to go there on his way to the Moluccas. The journey to La Plata was beset with disaster. The flagship and a great store of provisions were lost and upon arrival in the region of La Plata, the warlike attitude of the Indians seemed insurmountable. The expedition was a failure, and in 1530 one ship and a few worn out men returned to Spain.

The experience was of great importance to Santa Cruz. He became intensely interested in navigation and like many of his

¹⁹ Ribero died in 1533.

²⁰ Information on the life of Santa Cruz has been drawn from several sources, but principally from M. F. Navarrete, *Disertación*, 192 ff.

²¹ Francisco de Santa Cruz at one time held the position of *alcalde* in Seville; in 1511 he was a contractor for the Armada which the king planned to send to Africa.

²² M. de la Puente y Oleo, *Los Trabajos Geográficos de la Casa de Contratación*, Seville, 1900, 324.

²³ This expedition is fully discussed by H. Harrisse, *John Cabot, the Discoverer of North-America, and Sebastian his Son*, London, 1896, 185 et seq.

contemporaries tried to solve the all-important problem: the determination of longitudes at sea.²⁴ In 1535 he established himself permanently in Seville and in the same year he presented to the Junta an instrument he had invented for determining longitude. On July 7, 1536, the Emperor Charles V named him royal cosmographer of the *Casa de la Contratación*, and four years later, appointed him *contino de la Casa Real*. In 1545 he went to Lisbon to make a study of the Portuguese pilots' routes to India and of the variations of the magnetic needle as well as of the Portuguese observations in the distant seas.

Santa Cruz's interests were not restricted to problems of navigation or to cartography. In a letter written to the Emperor, November 10, 1551,²⁵ he says that notwithstanding ill health he had finished the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, from 1490 to the death of Fernando V, the *Crónica de Carlos V*, from 1500 to 1550,²⁶ completed the rough draft of a book on astronomy and made a translation from Latin into Spanish of Aristotle's *Ethics*. He also mentioned in the letter several maps which he had drawn. In 1560, Philip II, whose favor he enjoyed, commanded Santa Cruz to compose an "Islario General." He was able to finish this work before his death, but the book remained in manuscript until 1918.²⁷

Santa Cruz remained a consulting member of the *Casa de la Contratación* until the year of his death. In July 1567, he was a member of a committee to determine whether the Philippine Islands were included in the agreement which the Emperor made in 1529 with the King of Portugal. Four months later, on November 9, 1567, he died in Seville. Until the publication of the passage from the document reproduced in a note,²⁸ the year of his

²⁴ Cf. his book, *Libro de la Longitudines*. This remained in manuscript until 1921, when it was published at Seville under the direction of Antonio Blázquez and Delgado Agullera.

²⁵ M. F. Navarrete, *Disertación*, 194, summarizes this letter.

²⁶ A. de Santa Cruz, *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, 5 vols., Madrid, 1920-1925.

²⁷ *Islario General de Todas las Islas del Mundo . . . con un prólogo de D. Antonio Blázquez*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1918.

²⁸ "Una Real Cédula de 20 de Diciembre de 1567, dice así: Que agora por parte de doña Leonor de Benavides, hermana y heredera de dicho Alonso de Santa Cruz, ha sido hecha relación en este consejo que al dicho su hermano se le debe lo que habrá de haber de la dicha ayuda de costa, (se refiere á la concedida en 1563), que se le ha de pagar en esta Corte, desde fin del año pasado de 1566 hasta el 9 de Noviembre de este presente año de 1567, que falleció suplicándonos mandásemos se le diesen y pagasen para con ello cumplir su ánima y otras cosas que dejó ordenado, y visto por este Consejo se le pague . . ." G. Latorre, "Los geógrafos españoles del siglo XVI," in *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Americanistas*, año I, no. 2, June 1913, 37.

death was given as 1572. This error originated from the date of an inventory made of Santa Cruz's works. On October 12, 1572, Juan de Ledesma, a secretary, drew up the list of Santa Cruz's maps, manuscripts, and papers and forwarded them to Juan López de Velasco; the latter acknowledged receipt of the same two days later.²⁹ Consequently it has been taken for granted that the geographer to whose post Velasco succeeded had died in 1572; this belief was erroneous. It is not known what delayed the inventory of Santa Cruz's papers, unless it was because Velasco was unaware of their existence until 1572, or because Velasco was not appointed cosmographer major until that year.

The inventory of the papers and maps of Alonso de Santa Cruz contains no mention of the De Soto map. The rough sketch may not have been considered worth special mention or it may have been overlooked. That it was at one time with the papers of Santa Cruz may be surmised from the inscription written on the back of the map, "De los papeles que traxeron de Seuilla de Alonso Santa Cruz." The photograph of the original shows the sketch to have been folded, and perhaps left in that state for many years. The edges are broken, though the map is intact. On the original, a word here and there has been crossed out; on the reproductions made from the tracing first published by HARRISSE these have been omitted and, as was said above, there are also errors in the transcriptions of the nomenclature.

The map shows the Florida peninsula and the eastern coast line. There are seven rivers flowing into the ocean on the eastern seaboard and in the northeasternmost portion is shown a lake, *Laguna dulce*. According to HARRISSE this lake may have been intended to represent Ekanfanoka or Ouaquaphenogaw marsh, between the Flint and the Ockmulgee rivers in Georgia.³⁰ The Gulf coast, with many bays, inlets, and small islands is shown as far as Pánuco. Fourteen rivers, formed from many branches, flow into the Gulf and give the map an unusual appearance. Several mountain ranges are shown in the east and the northwest.

The De Soto map is important in the history of the cartography of America, for it is the first known graphic reproduction of the interior of the southern United States. On it is found for the first time the nomenclature of the interior; hence it is

²⁹ The inventory, as well as the receipts of Ledesma and Velasco, are published in M. Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1885, II, xxx ff.

³⁰ H. HARRISSE, *The Discovery of North America*, 644.

interesting to inquire into the sources of this nomenclature. As in nearly all of the sixteenth-century maps there are numerous names along the coastline, many of which appear on earlier maps, for instance, on the Ribero map and in Oviedo's description of the lost Chaves map of 1536. The positions of the geographical features and the spelling of the names on the De Soto map, however, more closely resemble the Cabot map of 1544 than any other. In a comparison of the De Soto sketch with the corresponding portion of the known world map of Santa Cruz, dated 1542, the coastline and nomenclature is found to be very similar.

It is not the coastline nomenclature that is of particular interest here, but the inland names. That these names were the result of information brought back by the survivors of De Soto's expedition may be considered certain, but the question arises: from which of the narratives available to the cartographer was the information derived? In the first place, the account of Garcilaso de la Vega may be ruled out because the writing of it was not finished until 1591 and the first publication was in 1605.³¹ Though the accounts of Biedma,³² the *factor* of the expedition, and Rangel,³³ De Soto's secretary, were not published until the nineteenth century, they had been turned over in manuscript form to the king as official reports of the expedition, and were undoubtedly available to official historians and to the cartographers of the *Casa* soon after the return of the survivors. The account of the Gentleman of Elvas was first published in 1557.³⁴

Thus, three accounts might have been available to Santa Cruz from which to draw the place names for his map. In comparing these place names, it may be noted that the inland places visited by De Soto during the first part of his journey are lacking on the map in question. As a possible explanation for this omission it might be suggested that this is due to the unfinished state of the map. Perhaps the insertion of the many villages visited by the Spaniards in the Florida peninsula and the land immediately north of it would unduly have crowded this section of the map. Again, cartographers did not always use all names available. As the accompanying table shows, the

³¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Ynca. Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, Lisbon, 1605.

³² H. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, 20 vols., Paris, 1837-1841, XX, 51-106.

³³ Oviedo, *Historia General*, I, 544 ff.

³⁴ *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q. ho governador dō Fernão de soto. . . . Agora nouamête feita per hũ fidalgo Deluas, Evora, 1557.*

comparison between the nomenclature of the map and that in the three accounts, begins with the places visited after the expedition had left the Florida peninsula.³⁵ There are a number of names on the map which do not appear in any known account. This may have come about because the mapmaker had not only the official reports but also the notes or diaries upon which those reports were based. Twenty-nine names are from Ranjel, twenty-four from Biedma, and thirty-nine from the Elvas narrative.

The following considerations explain, perhaps, the larger number of names found both on the map and in the Elvas account. First, these names, as may be seen from the table, are all found toward the end of the Portuguese version of the De Soto expedition. Secondly, the Ranjel account, as published, is unfinished, and tells of the journey only as far Utiangüe, and finally the Biedma report is very brief. None of the names on the map preceding *Chaguet* appear in the Elvas account alone and there is not a single instance of a name appearing in Biedma which is not also found in Ranjel or Elvas. Yet it is known that Santa Cruz was familiar with Biedma's account. In his *Crónica*, where he recounts the De Soto expedition,³⁶ the place names, though fewer in number, except for minor differences in spelling, agree more closely with those in the Biedma account than in any other accounts now extant. It is also quite certain that he had the Ranjel narrative. Two names on the map, *Guaquila* and *Itaba*, are found only in Ranjel. Furthermore, it may be noted that the spellings of the names on the map seem to agree more closely with those in Ranjel's report than in the other narratives.

Oviedo had the report written by Ranjel, upon which he based his account of the De Soto expedition. As this was finally published, the last chapters are missing. From the brief extant summary of these chapters, it is clear that Oviedo saw the report in its entirety. It is probable that the cartographer who drew the De Soto map also saw Ranjel's complete report and that he read in it the names which appear on the westernmost portion of the map, for all such reports of recent voyages had to be communicated to the *Casa* immediately upon the return to Spain of the members of the expedition. Exactly when Ranjel

³⁵ The names on the De Soto map as used in the table are taken from the transcription published by J. A. Robertson; those in the Ranjel column are from Oviedo's account; those in the Biedma narrative from B. Smith's first publication of the account in Spanish (in *Colección de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida*, London, 1857, 47-64), and the names in the Elvas column are from Robertson's facsimile publication.

³⁶ Santa Cruz, *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, IV, 442 ff.

turned over to the government the report written from his diary of the journey is not known, but it seems likely that it was within a year or two after the return of the survivors in 1544.

The De Soto map, then, in which are found names so evidently derived from the Ranjel account, could not have been drawn before 1544 or 1545. Had it been made after 1561, as Lewis noted, it is unlikely that some geographical information obtained from the reports of the Luna expedition would not have been in-

NOMENCLATURE ON THE DE SOTO MAP

DE SOTO MAP	RANJEL	BIKEMA		ELVAS
		Narrative	Crónica	
chitala				
chalaq	Chalaque			Chalaque
abuymay				
guaqujlla	Guaquilli			
cotaq	Cofitachequi	Cofaqui	Cositachique	Cofaqui
guasullj	Guasilli	Cofitachyque	Guasuli	Cutifachiqui
canecogas	Canasoga	Guasuli		Guarule
capalar				Canasagua
chiaha	Chiha	Chiha		Chiha
finar				
coete	Coste	Costebe		Coste
alius				
tallj	Tali			Tali
neter				
coca	Coga	Coca	Cosa	Coga
aytaba	Itaba			
vlijbahali	Ulibahali			Ulibahali
tunasi	Tuasi			Toasi
talisei	Talisei	Italisei		Tallise
tascalussa	Tascaluga	Tassalusa	Trascalusa	Tascaluoa
tiaschi	Pischi			Pischo
illegible;				
nosco				
pafalaya	Apafalaya			Pafallaya
aljbano	Limamu	Alibanio		Alimamu
chicaca	Chicaga	Chicaza	Dechicaza	Chicaga
pacaha	Pacaha	Pacaha		Pacaha
mala				
quizequi	Quizqui	Quizquiz		Quizquiz
niculas				
quigualta	Quiguate	Quiguate	Quiguate	Quiguate
fuste de q har				
coljma	Coligua	Coligua	Coligua	Coligoa
casqui	Casqui	Icasqui	Icasqui	Casqui

corporated on the map. From the preceding considerations it is concluded that the map was drawn after 1544 and before 1561.

After having thus narrowed within certain limits the date of the map, an attempt will be made to answer the other question: who is the author of this map? It might, of course, be assumed that the sketch was made by one of the survivors of the expedition. But when the nomenclature of the coastline of the Gulf

AND IN CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS

DE SOTO MAP	RANJEL	BIEDMA		ELVAS
		Narrative	Cronica	
cayasi	Cayase	Cayas	Cayas	Cayas
fanoſ				
palisema	Palisema			Palisema
catayet				
guechoya		Guachoyanque	Guacho	Guachoya
cayas	Cayase			Cayas
epavaquianqui?				
foamaya				
vtianquj	Utiangüe	Viranque	Uoianque	Autiamque
qujesqualena				
tula	Tula	Tula		Tulla
quipana	Guipana	Quipana	Aquipana	Quipana
nauj				
yais		Hais		Ayays
fuete de Sal				
tane				
chaguet				Chaguete
aguacay		Aguacay		Aguacay
guant				
conoal				
palme				
pato				Pato
Cehocatin				
aznaos				
guasoco				Guasoco
cenca (?)				
auinax (animay?)				Amays
naya				
lacone		la Cane	Lacane	Lacane
ays			Hayo	Aays
aljel (?)				
neguateix				Naguateix
mſdacan		Nandacao	Nandacao	Nondacao
njsone		Nisione	Demisiones	Nisachone

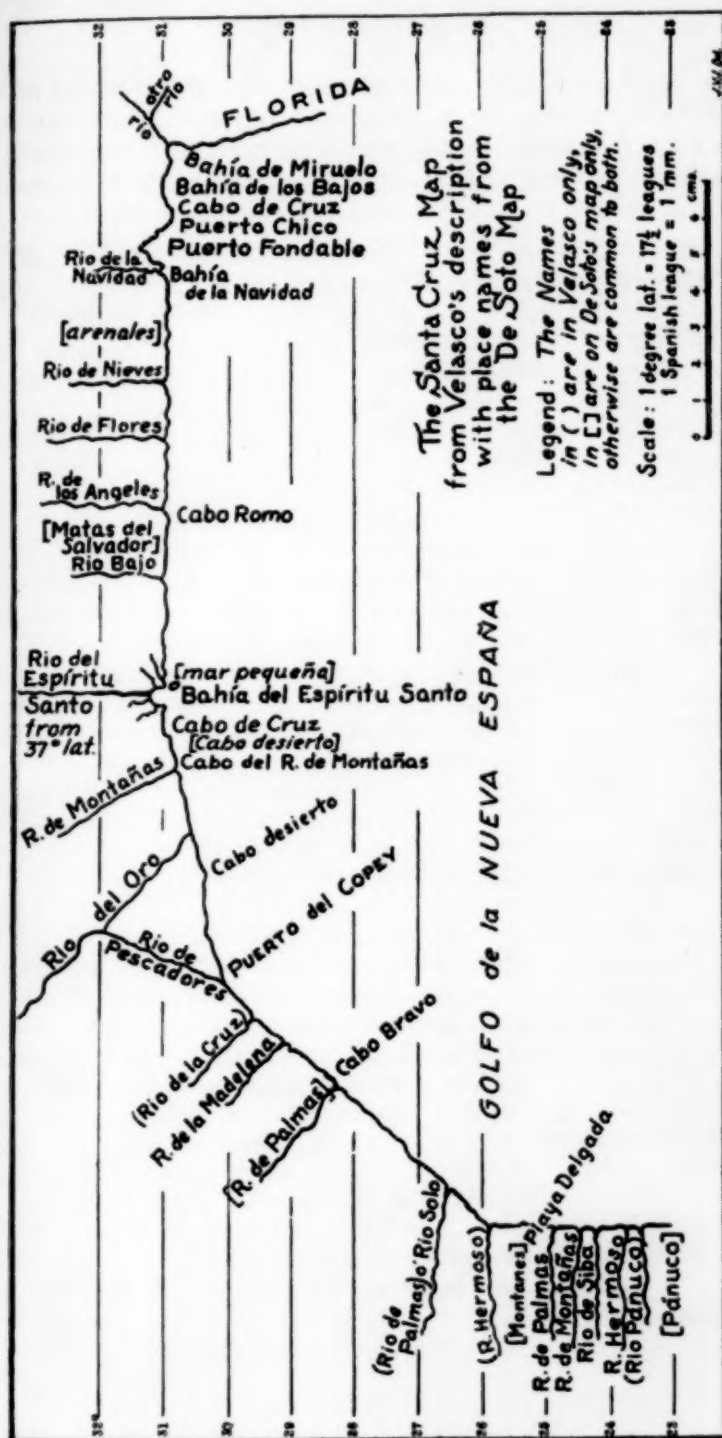
is examined, its similarity with the maps drawn by members of the *Casa* after the departure of the expedition rule out such an hypothesis. The map was made by some one well acquainted with the *Padrón General* kept in the *Casa*, and it is highly improbable that anyone other than an official would have access to the manuscript accounts of Biedma and Ranjel. Santa Cruz was certainly among those who, after 1544, had these two qualifications, and, as has been pointed out, there is an inscription on the back of the map to the effect that it was found among his papers.

Of themselves, these facts do not, of course, establish the authorship of the De Soto map; in fact, it is doubtful whether its authenticity will ever be settled beyond the possibility of debate. The following evidence, however, warrants considering Santa Cruz as the more probable author. His successor in office was Juan López de Velasco. The latter obtained the papers and sketches of his predecessor and made use of them in preparing his description of America.³⁷ In the section entitled, "Descripción del Golfo de la Nueva España ó la Florida," there is a list of places, rivers, bays, and ports along the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to Pánuco together with the distances between these various points, and some positions are given in terms of degrees of latitude. This description, says Velasco, is "according to the maps of Santa Cruz."³⁸ If the coastal nomenclature as given by Velasco is compared with that of the De Soto map, they prove to be almost identical. The accompanying sketch shows the few minor variations. In his description, it is true, Velasco does not mention any inland place names. His reason for this is, as he himself observes, because too little was known about the geography of the country beyond the coast itself.

As has been said above, no latitudes are shown on the De Soto map, whereas Velasco gives the latitude of several points along the coast. This would seem to militate against the contention that the De Soto map was made by Santa Cruz. The objection, however, loses much of its force, when it is considered that Velasco may be describing a no longer extant Santa Cruz map, of which the De Soto map was a first sketch. This is no mere surmise, for in no other Santa Cruz map does the coastal nomenclature of the Gulf coincide as closely with Velasco's description as do the coastal legends on the De Soto map. Furthermore, one legend, *Puerto del Copei*, at the mouth of the

³⁷ J. López de Velasco, *Geographia y Descripción Universal de las Indias*, Madrid, 1894.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 180 *et seq.*



Rio de Pescadores, appears on no other map of the period except on the De Soto map. Since Velasco, in his description mentions this name, *Puerto del Copey*, which he read on a map made by Santa Cruz, locating it where it is found on the De Soto map, it seems legitimate to conclude that the two maps, that described by Velasco and the De Soto map, were made by the same cartographer, Alonso de Santa Cruz.

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The Edward E. Ayer Collection
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Book Reviews

Texas Statecraft, 1836-1845. By Joseph William Schmitz. The Naylor Company, San Antonio, 1941. Pp. x, 266.

This book is not, and is not intended to be, a history of the Republic of Texas. Dr. Schmitz has held himself rather rigidly to a study of the diplomatic history of the Republic, touching domestic affairs only when an understanding of the local situation contributes to his theme. Within the scope of his intentions, he has written a useful and usable book. Practically all phases of Texan diplomatic history have previously received monographic study, but this is the first effort to weave the story into a unit. This is not to imply that Dr. Schmitz has depended upon these earlier studies for his facts or for his conclusions. Substantially all of the essential source materials for his subject are conveniently available, and he has studied them industriously and independently. Happily, he has done the job so thoroughly that no one is likely to be tempted to do it again.

The straightforward simplicity of the narrative is perhaps the chief contribution of the book; for the diplomacy of the Republic of Texas ranges far and is not inherently simple. J. Pinckney Henderson, James Hamilton, and James Treat stand out with greater distinctness than they have previously done in the story of relations with France, Holland, Belgium, and Mexico. Indeed, the book adds to our knowledge and appreciation of all three. Though Hamilton and Treat were actuated in some measure by the hope of financial reward, their efforts were also largely altruistic. Treat, particularly, deserves a biographical study.

Though the book deals sparingly with personal estimates, Dr. Schmitz takes time out to argue Sam Houston's sincere desire for the annexation of Texas to the United States—convincingly, this reviewer believes—and he explains satisfactorily the apparent hesitation of Anson Jones to call a convention in Texas to accept annexation. Houston's coyness increased the eagerness of President Tyler to hasten annexation in order to block British influence in Texas, danger of which was always more apparent than real; and Jones's delay in calling the convention was utilized by him to obtain a conditional recognition of Texan independence from Mexico.

The book is well indexed, and has a satisfactory bibliography. It should find a welcome reception in the rapidly-increasing number of Texas schools that are offering courses in state history.

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Propaganda and the American Revolution. By Philip Davidson. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1941. Pp. xvi, 460.

This is a timely book, stimulating and fascinating. Its theme is the part played by propaganda in our war for independence. Presumably almost everyone is aware of the current use of propaganda, but most people look upon it as a modern phenomenon and few suspect the role of propaganda in the infancy of our nation. Most readers will be amazed by the character and prevalence of propagandist activity at that time.

How was it that a generation of American colonists witnessed a revolution in thought and sentiments, a shifting from unquestioned loyalty to England to a resolve to sever all ties? So radical a change could not have been due to mere chance; rather it was the fruit of a decade and more of virtually continuous propaganda. While American propagandists were not numerous they were men of standing in their communities, substantial and influential people such as governors, judges, ministers, writers, lawyers. Foremost among them was Sam Adams, the perfect Whig agitator because of his learning, determination, and untiring activity; and yet neither he nor his associates were true mob leaders or social incendiaries. What they launched was a home rule movement but the Declaration of Independence changed it into secession. Handicapped by lack of a central organization to direct and unify their work they had recourse at first to addresses, petitions, and instructions which they broadcast through the press which was predominantly sympathetic. Supplementing these measures were the support of the Sons of Liberty, and of the Daughters of Liberty whose contribution was a series of spirited resolutions and cooperation in enforcing the non-consumption and non-importation agreements. Moreover non-conforming ministers, in the words of a critic, "beat the drum ecclesiastic," while lawyers quoted authorities in defense of the cause.

Before 1776 the Whig propagandists were intent on arousing alarm over the menace to life, liberty, and property in general, and of religious freedom in particular; at the same time they stressed regard for the future and the advantages of victory. Conscious of the power of the "hate motive" they declared the British to be "frauds, tricksters, liars," whose ruling classes were immoral while their soldiery was noted for wanton cruelty. With sublime disregard for logic they reasoned that what was true of one must be true of all and therefore true of anyone. Tory propaganda they met by rebuttal of the charge that hostilities were begun by the colonists, by denial that independence was their goal, that the colonists were obligated to England, that defeat was certain and that revolution was always sinful. Censorship of the press, surveillance, even violence were resorted to. Demonstrations and parades, songs and plays were made use of. Printing presses

poured forth a torrent of pamphlets, and broadsides impressed the illiterate.

Tories were not inactive. Led by five well-known Anglican clergymen, and assisted by British officials and a few prominent colonists, they employed suggestion as well as direct attack. In addition to contesting all Whig claims they questioned the legality of the Continental Congress, and the representative character of the several associations to restrain trade. They contrasted the sinfulness of treason and ingratitude with the virtue of submission to authority, and they emphasized the inevitability of defeat and the economic chaos which must follow independence of England. Above all they belittled the character of the Whigs whose "common origin" they harped upon. Were they not the "illiterate, thwarted, and envious," "self-seeking debauchees," degenerate ministers of the gospel, the depraved members of society? After 1778 they ridiculed the French Alliance, made sport of colonial currency, distorted news, invented atrocities, indulged in deliberate slander.

With many former leaders in military or diplomatic service after 1776 a new group of Whigs, now become patriots, came to the fore. Theirs was the task of combating defeatism, discontent, and dissension, of arousing enthusiasm, of setting forth the justice of their cause and the certainty of victory, of extolling American commanders and revealing the depravity of the enemy. In short, so diversified were the charges and countercharges that, in the words of Dr. Davidson, the propaganda of patriots and Tories duplicates everything in the 1918 campaign of propaganda.

This is a scholarly treatment of a difficult subject. In gathering data the author has labored industriously as thirty pages of bibliography attest. A calm objectiveness pervades every page. Statements are supported by abundant references. So exhaustive is the inquiry that no facet of the movement has been overlooked. Perusal of this volume leads to the conviction that propagandists played more than a minor role in bringing our struggle for freedom to a successful issue. It reveals too that contrary to general belief they were conversant with all the angles and techniques of the trade, as versatile and ingenious as their present-day fellows. Perhaps there should have been more insistence on the sincerity of these agitators, for recent happenings have revealed how war hysteria can cloud the mind and warp the judgment and bring otherwise sane people to accept assertion as fact, and give credence to the incredible.

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Étude sur les Relations des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France (1632-1672). By Léon Pouliot, S. J. (Collection des Studia.) Montreal, 1940. Pp. xii, 319.

This book is one of the contributions commemorating the fourth centenary of the approbation of the Society of Jesus by Paul III. It is divided into three unequal parts: the *Relations* themselves, their contents and their influence. The second part is the longest, while the third is treated in a single chapter. In the first part Father Pouliot explains the origin and nature of the *Relations*, and briefly narrates the events that determined the Jesuits to cease publishing them. This part is of particular importance, for most of what has been written by critics falls to the ground when one remembers what the purpose of the writers was. According to Father Pouliot, the *Relations* were "annual reports sent by the Superior of the Jesuits in Quebec to the Provincial in Paris, printed in the seventeenth century, and presented to the general public with the purpose of arousing sympathetic interest and of gaining spiritual and temporal benefactors for the missions of New France." Another remark with regard to the critics may be made here. In order to understand why the spirit of faith and the zeal of the writers was called "fanaticism" at the time when the *Relations* were "re-discovered" in the nineteenth century, we must remember that for these critics anything supernatural pertained to an unacceptable metaphysical conception of the universe, because it could not be measured with a two-foot rule. As for earlier criticisms, the writers of the *Relations* were far less gullible than many so-called "esprits forts" of their day, and they were more truthful than some of their contemporary critics who aired their views in print. They did not, for instance, palm off as their own the work of others; their names are not found on the title page of lampoons which were presented as truthful history; they did not claim to have made fantastic voyages; they indicated what they knew of their own knowledge, and called attention to the fact that certain information was second hand.

For several reasons one regrets that only one chapter, the third of the first part, could be devoted to the "historical value" of the *Relations*, to the credibility of the witnesses. The author refers to some texts of Le Clercq and of Hennepin which call in question the reliability of the accounts given therein. This external evidence, however, is worthless. It is fairly certain that the *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, as we have it today, was not written by the Recollect whose name appears on the title page, but by a member of the Arnauld clique. As for Pouliot's citation from the *New Voyage*, it is a passage which Hennepin simply copied out of Le Clercq. The author of the *New Voyage* would have done much better not to mention his "great frankness and candor."

One of the modern objections against the *Relations* is that they do

not give a complete history of the colony; that they do not speak of everything and of everybody; in brief, that they are not the newspapers of their day. The critics who complain of the too limited scope of the *Relations* would do well to follow the advice given by Father Pouliot, which is to read the title: "Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans les Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus en la Nouvelle-France." Had the Jesuits not restricted themselves to the religious sphere of their own missions, had they spoken in their *Relations* of the petty squabbles of the self-seeking politicians of the day, Sulte and others of his ilk would have been the loudest in their denunciations.

The historical value of the *Relations* can be tested by ascertaining the credibility of the writers when they speak of matters which they regarded as purely incidental, but which today are looked upon as most valuable by the geographer, the historian, and the ethnologist. In view of the accuracy of their statements with regard to the customs of the Indians, the geography, the fauna and flora of the country, etc., all of which is now independently verifiable, we may presume that they are also truthful when they write of the principal subject matter of the *Relations*: their labors and hardships in connection with the evangelization of the Indians, of their successes and failures, of the results of their efforts, of the number of infants they baptized, of the number of the converts to the Faith.

In chapters III and IV of Part II, Father Pouliot speaks of the obstacles with which the missionaries had to contend, the intellectual and moral level of the men they had come to evangelize, the environmental conditions of their apostolate. Even if the Jesuits had succeeded after years of efforts in mastering the language of the Indians, in bringing them to such a stage of culture as would make them less opposed to accept the spiritual doctrines and moral precepts of Christianity, it would still be true that in so far as adults are concerned their conversion essentially depended on the supernatural gift of faith which God alone can give. This fact has to be taken into consideration when one wishes to evaluate the results of forty years of missionary labor in New France.

We believe that Father Pouliot's answer to the sneers of Le Clercq is inadequate, because of a wrong approach to the problem. Obviously, the technique of the author of Le Clercq's fifteenth chapter is that of a political pamphleteer. To decry the *Jesuit Relations*, he distorts, perverts, and burlesques the narrative, and then proceeds to criticize, not the real contents, but rather his own parody of the *Relations*. Hence he satirically refers to the "prodigious number of Christian Indians," who now—in the eighties of the seventeenth century—escape the knowledge of Frenchmen who go to their village every year. Instead of trying to refute this charge of exaggeration by means of statistical data available—data which are actually incomplete, and in any

case liable to be misinterpreted by nowadays apologists of Le Clercq's lampoon—it would have been better to ask the simple question, where in the *Relations* do the Jesuits speak of the “prodigious number of Christian converts?” As a matter of fact anyone reading the *Relations* will be astonished by the small number converted after so many years of effort.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760. By W. Vernon Kinietz. (Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, No. 10.) University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1940. Pp. xiv, 427.

The author says in the preface that his aim has been “to compile synthetic ethnographies of various tribes” of Michigan and the Great Lakes region, and that his book presents the “recorded ethnography of the contact period,” roughly one century, from 1660 to 1760.

Of the ethnographical merits of the work, this reviewer is incompetent to speak; hence the following comments will concern merely the historical value of some of the sources used. Mr. Kinietz is well aware of the varying value of these sources. His bibliography in which he appraises the trustworthiness of the witnesses, contains “only those works which are cited in the text.” He does not believe in the juvenile practice of listing innumerable titles of books, monographs, “theses,” and articles, often containing no relevant material, whose authors have contented themselves with repeating ready-made ideas without bothering to consult the sources.

“By inference those works not cited were tried and found wanting in one respect or other: the information was without tribal designation; the remarks were obviously made without any direct knowledge of the Indians; the information was so sketchy as to be worthless in itself; or extensive borrowing from other works was evident.” Yet, Mr. Kinietz did not always make the necessary distinction with regard to direct knowledge of Indians. He refers, for instance, to the letters of A. D. Raudot and to the compilation of La Potherie, although neither of these two authors had any direct knowledge of the various customs of the Western Indians. Neither of them came to Michigan, and they had direct knowledge of only those Western Indians who occasionally came to Montreal. Their authority, therefore, is on a par with that of Lafitau, and is certainly less direct than that of Charlevoix. The latter actually visited the West. He saw these Indians “at home,” and in his *Journal*—in contradistinction to his *History*—is the account of an eye-witness. True, he is often apt to attribute the custom of one tribe to another, to be chronologically inaccurate; but still he had an overwhelming advantage over La Potherie and Raudot.

The references to manuscript material would be less inadequate had the folios where the passages are found been referred to by number. What is listed as Cadillac's *Manuscript Relation on the Indians* is no longer a manuscript source, but appears in print in the fifth volume of Margry, pp. 75-132. The manuscript text used by Mr. Kinietz which formerly belonged to Margry and is now in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, is not in the handwriting of Cadillac. In fact, the question whether Cadillac's original manuscript is exactly represented by the Ayer Collection text is still debatable. The style of certain passages reminds one more of Lahontan than of Cadillac, but on the other hand, certain expressions are so clearly Cadillac's that there is no possibility of mistake. That he wrote a relation on the geography of the Great Lakes and on the Western Indians sometime before 1699, or perhaps in that very year, is certain from his letters to Pontchartrain and to Lagny. A close study of the Ayer manuscript, which is presumably a copy of Cadillac's original relation, and a comparison of it with the contents of his voluminous writings would enable one, we think, to determine with a fair degree of accuracy how much is genuinely Cadillac's, and how much was added by the unknown author of this manuscript, the date of which is July 21, 1718.

The reviewer did not find any reference in the text to the manuscript listed under AN, vol. K 1232. If the manuscript thus listed is, as seems likely, AN, series K, vol. 1232:n. 1, Mr. Kinietz was very wise not to make use of it; for this manuscript is merely a compilation made by someone who had not only no direct knowledge of the Indians, but who never came to America. For the same reasons, the manuscript found in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, which the author also lists without using, is equally unreliable. Students of the period will be glad to find, in the appendix, a translation of forty-seven letters of D. A. Raudot dealing with the tribes of the Great Lakes region, which till now have not been translated.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

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The Hero in America. By Dixon Wecter. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1941. Pp. viii, 530.

The author of this volume makes it clear at the outset that he is not attempting to do in 1941 for the world of today substantially that which was done by Carlyle in 1841, when the latter contributed his work on heroes and hero-worship. There has been no attempt to even rewrite the lives of famous Americans, since this has already been done in a great many cases. Rather, the purpose was simpler, "... namely, to look at a few of those great personalities in public life—Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Lee, Theodore Roosevelt—from whom we have hewn our symbols of government, our ideas of what is most prizable as 'American.'" To the names here men-

tioned, a great many others have been added, living and dead. The result has been a collection of biographies in miniature, the value of which is very real. An effort has been made, consciously or unconsciously, to reveal the intrinsic meaning of the term "American." Today, with so much evidence of cheap and profitable "patriotism" in practically every walk of life, it is well to give some attention as to the meaning which our truly great men ascribed to "Americanism." They, it is evident, were not nearly so sure that they were true Americans as are many of the disgusting "patrioteers" of 1941.

This volume is a running commentary on the great and the near great in American life, from the time of John Smith to the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt. There is practically no effort at glorification, nor is there any effort to revive the "debunking" techniques which have now become outmoded. The author is consistently concerned with securing true appraisals and proper perspectives, although he is more inclined to dispel fanciful myths associated with former leaders than to add to the laurels of the nation's heroes.

The style is consistently brilliant and trenchant. Writing of the Puritans, for example, the author states: "The spirit of John Calvin—who had burned Servetus for disagreeing with him—did not foster much true charity. Too many of the first settlers came, not to set up an asylum of religious liberty for all men, but to establish their own brand of intolerance. Later, after Puritanism in evaporating left behind such crystals as Unitarian intellectualism, easy-going Congregationalism, and democratic evangelism, it became easier to read into the early spirit of Massachusetts the liberal virtues admired by modern times. But they were hardly there in the beginning. Of political and religious liberalism, as understood by the Republic of Jefferson and Madison, these Forefathers had few traces." This same truth has of course often been expressed before, but perhaps not much more clearly nor more bluntly.

Perhaps the great virtue of the volume lies in the fact that it includes a great many truths omitted from the official biographies. Dealing with Lincoln and the slavery issue, for instance, after stating that Lincoln favored gradual emancipation, but distrusted abolitionists, a quotation is given from one of Lincoln's speeches, made in Massachusetts before an audience apparently unfriendly to abolitionism, "I have heard you have abolitionists here. We have a few in Illinois and we shot one the other day." Likewise, the author includes a reference to Lincoln's action in condemning the 'violence, bloodshed, and treason' of John Brown, as well as a statement indicating Lincoln's belief that the execution of John Brown had been legally just. The entire treatment of Lincoln may be considered objective, although perhaps somewhat sympathetic, and the same thing may be said with reference to the evaluation of Lee. Grant does not fare so well. A real effort is made to be fair in discussing the contributions of Bryan, Theodore

Roosevelt, Edison, Ford, Lindbergh, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and scores of others who receive passing attention. The source material and the secondary works listed give convincing evidence that thorough research produced the volume. An excellent index is provided. This is perhaps the best volume of its type which has been written in this country, and this reviewer recommends it to anyone interested, or uninterested, in biography.

PAUL KINIERY

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The Development of Hispanic America. By A. Curtis Wilgus. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1941. Pp. 941.

This textbook is dedicated to two great scholars and promoters of studies in Latin American affairs, Herbert E. Bolton and the late James Alexander Robertson. Each of these beloved directors of research was wont to tell students: "It is difficult to write a book, but it is easy to criticize one." The remark may be applied especially to textbooks, for the authors of these have necessarily to depend greatly upon the findings of others for statements and interpretations; and criticism readily comes when the writer banks too much upon superficial secondary sources or upon no authorities at all for his opinion in matters outside the field of his particular research. The basis of criticism of a textbook should be its reliability, exactness, and sanity of opinion, but unhappily selections of textbooks for schools and colleges are made almost universally from the viewpoint of the mechanics of the book.

Dr. Wilgus has studiously attended to the mechanics of textbook writing. One cannot quibble about whether he has or has not sufficiently amplified certain facts, trends, or approaches. His arrangement is logical, his chapters are as concise as possible and factual almost to monotony, and he has carried the facts down to the end of 1940. In fact, to some the text will appear to be an introduction to the reading lists. There are ample readings indicated, plentiful visual aids, and an excellent index. Four appendices include a glossary of terms, outlines of Hispanic American constitutions, a bibliographical essay, and, amusingly enough after 800 pages of description of the republics, a single page chart headed "The Americas at a Glance." There must be over 125 maps, graphs, and charts, and the space of roughly 90 pages is given over to lists, exclusive of the periodical literature in the footnotes and the 56 pages of bibliographical essay; surely more than 300 of the 900 pages pertain to aids well-culled from many sources. The book should prove very handy for everybody from "quiz-kids" to graduate students, to say nothing of diffuse professors.

As to reliability and exactness, the book leaves much to be desired. Anyone thinking logically will note the inconsistency of referring in the footnotes and bibliographies to specific writers while at the same

time favoring an altogether diverse opinion in the text. For example on page 208 we read: "The Jesuits held the natives in virtual slavery, reaping rich fruits from their labor"; and students are then directed to read the opposite opinion in cited works, say those of Bolton. "With increased wealth the members became worldly and often corrupt, forgetting their religious vows and the teaching of their faith. In a word, *they were accused*," *et cetera*, "and, as Henry Morse Stephens has aptly said . . .," *et cetera*; such statements of statements are discrediting to the work, and symptomatic of an unweighed opinion, while the opinion of Stephens, profoundly revered though it may have been at "the round table," is here just another unwarranted generalization. Students seeking the truth are quite apt to be addled on reading Stephens, Bolton, and Wilgus; scholars will certainly want more truth and less opinion.

There is no appreciation of the work of Church and churchmen in the colonies and republics. Catholics in no part of the Americas wish private interpretations of their religious beliefs or criticisms of its moral and dogmatic motivation, much as they deplore the actions of some individual churchmen and some "professional," as opposed to "practical" Catholics. A far better approach than the typical New England one would have been to evaluate the ideals, the means at hand, the difficulties, the native abilities of assimilating religion and education, and the purposes of Inquisition, Index, universities, colleges, missions, churches, *aldeas*, *et cetera*, and to view these institutions in their times rather than in comparison to our times. Facts regarding the Church do not fare well. And other incidental errors of fact crop up, as on pages 241, 201, 171, where dates for printing presses are confused, and page 470 where there is apparently a seven-year-old president of Paraguay.

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